PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

TWENTY-FOURTH

CONVENTION

OF THE

ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF AMERICA

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

JANUARY 15TH - 19TH

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Secretary Anti-Saloon League of America

Pacific School of
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CONSTITUTION OF THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF AMERICA

ARTICLE I. Name

The name of this organization is the Anti-Saloon League of America.

ARTICLE II. Object

The object of this League is the extermination of the beverage liquor traffic, for the accomplishing of which the alliance of all who are in harmony with this object is invited. The League pledges itself to avoid affiliation with any political party as such and to maintain an attitude of strict neutrality on all questions of public policy not directly and immediately concerned with the traffic in strong drink.

ARTICLE III. Officers

The officers of this League shall be a president, twelve vice presidents, a secretary, a treasurer and a general superintendent, all of whom shall be elected biennially by the Board of Directors at the time of each national convention, also a director of education, publicity and research, an associate general superintendent, a general manager of publishing interests, a financial secretary, a legislative superintendent, an assistant general superintendent and an attorney, who shall be chosen biennially by the Board of Directors upon the nomination of the Executive Committee; also superintendents of the several state Leagues, each of whom shall be elected annually by the State League by whatever method it may determine, upon the nomination of the General Superintendent. The State League may reject the first nomination for reasons which shall be given in writing within forty days and ask that another nomination be made. Upon receiving such request from the State League, the General Superintendent shall make another and different nomination, and if the State League does not accept the second nomination within forty days, the National Executive Committee shall elect a state superintendent who shall hold office for one year or until a successor is elected as provided herein. The State League shall fix the amount of salary subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee.

ARTICLE IV. Board of Directors

Section 1. There shall be a Board of Directors composed of two representatives from each State League and additional representatives as follows: Each state having a population of more than 1,000,000, according to the last federal census, shall have an additional member of the Board of Directors for each additional 1,000,000 population or major part thereof. Provided, that the maximum representation on the Board of Directors be limited to five from each State League. The President of the Anti-Saloon League of America shall be chairman of the Board of Directors.

Section 2. The Board of Directors shall transact the business of the League and shall have power to adopt such by-laws in conformity with this constitution as may be necessary for the conduct of the League's affairs.

ARTICLE V. Executive Committee

There shall be an Executive Committee elected bienially by the Board of Directors consisting of 22 members, one member for each of the following districts: District No. 1, the New England States; District No. 2, New York; District No. 3, Maryland, New Jersey, Delaware and the District of Columbia; Dis-

trict No. 4, Pennsylvania; District No. 5, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina; District No. 6, Ohio and West Virginia; District No. 7, Indiana and Michigan; District No. 8, Illinois; District No. 9, Kentucky, Tennessee and Mississippi; District No. 10, Georgia, Alabama and Florida; District No. 11, Louisiana and Texas; District No. 12, Missouri and Arkansas; District No. 13, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Iowa; District No. 14, Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado and Oklahoma; District No. 15, California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona and New Mexico; District No. 16, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, North Dakota and South Dakota; five members-at-large not more than one of which shall come from any one of the 16 districts; and the President of the League.

ARTICLE IV. State Boards of Trustees

There shall be a Board of Trustees for each state League. Each such Board shall be representative of the church bodies and other organizations in the state cooperating in the League, and shall be elected annually or biennially by such method as may be determined by the state convention or State Board of Trustees.

ARTICLE VII. Headquarters Committee

There shall be a Headquarters Committee for each state League consisting of not less than five members, all of whom shall be elected annually or biennially by the State Board of Trustees.

ARTICLE VIII. Conventions

Conventions of this League shall be held biennially. The time and place shall be fixed by the Executive Committee. By a two-thirds vote of the Executive Committee special conventions may be called. All persons shall be recognized as delegates to the convention who are appointed by local churches, Sunday Schools, Gideons, Young People's Societies, temperance organizations, Y. W. C. A. and Y. M. C. A., or district or annual associations, synods or conventions of a religious body, or by any state Board of Trustees or state Headquarters Commitee, or any other organization cooperating with the state League.

ARTICLE IX. Amendment

Amendments to this Constitution may be made at any biennial meeting by a two-thirds vote of the members of the Board of Directors present and voting upon recommendation of a two-thirds vote of the Executive Committee, or in the absence of such recommendation, by a three-fourths vote of the members of the Board of Directors present and voting. Final vote upon any proposed amendment shall not be taken until the next succeeding day after it has been presented to the Board.

ARTICLE X

This Constitution shall be in effect on and after June 1, 1914.

BY-LAWS OF THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE

THE GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT

1. The general superintendent shall give his entire time to the organization and work of the League, and the superintendency of its activities throughout the entire United States.

THE DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION, PUBLICITY AND RESEARCH

2. The director of education, publicity and research shall have charge of the department of educational work of the League, including publicity and research, and shall be under the direction of and responsible to the Executive Committee and the Board of Directors.

THE SECRETARY

3. The secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the national convention and the Board of Directors shall publish the same when authorized for sale and distribution, and shall issue notices of meetings of the Board of Directors, and perform such other work as properly pertains to the office.

THE MANAGER OF PUBLISHING INTERESTS

4. The general manager of publishing interests shall have supervision over the League's publishing interests, including the business management of the American Issue Publishing Company and the editorial conduct of the League publications. He shall be under the direction of and responsible to the Executive Committee and through it to the Board of Directors.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY

5. The financial secretary shall supervise the work of securing funds for the maintenance of the League, including the collection of the percentage due the national treasury from the state Leagues. He shall not conduct a financial campaign in any state without an arrangement made between the Executive Committee and state superintendent and Headquarters Committee of the state League. He shall be under the direction of and responsible to the general superintendent and the Executive Committee, and through them to the Board of Directors.

THE LEGISLATIVE SUPERINTENDENT

6. The legislative superintendent shall represent the Anti-Saloon League in the effort to secure improved temperance legislation by Congress with the counsel and under the direction of the general superintendent and the Executive Committee. When not engaged in such work, he shall give his time in work for the League under the direction of the general superintendent and the Executive Committee.

THE ASSISTANT GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT

7. The assistant general superintendent shall give his time in work for the League under the direction of the general superintendent and the Executive Committee.

THE ASSOCIATE GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT

8. The associate general superintendent shall give his time to the work of securing funds for the League, and in the promotion of the work of the Lincoln-Lee Legion, with the counsel and under the direction of the general superintendent and the Executive Committee. When not engaged in such work, he

shall give his time in work for the League under the direction of the general superintendent and the Executive Committee.

THE ATTORNEY

9. The attorney shall represent the League in legal matters and in the general law enforcement department of the League work with the counsel and under the direction of the general superintendent and the Executive Committee. When not engaged in such work he shall give his time in work for the League under the direction of the general superintendent and the Executive Committee.

STATE SUPERINTENDENTS

10. Each superintendent of a State League shall superintend the work of the League in that state under the direction of the State Headquarters Committee in harmony with the policy laid down by the Board of Directors and the General Superintendent. He shall counsel with the Headquarters Committee and shall execute the policies and plans initiated or determined by the State Board of Trustees in harmony with the policies of the Board of Directors of the Anti-Saloon League of America.

Each state superintendent shall make a report annually to the General Superintendent of all contributions, receipts and disbursements.

FINANCIAL ASSESSMENTS

11. The Executive Committee shall determine questions of policy or procedure, shall investigate the financial condition of the League, and shall make such assessments upon the state Leagues as it may deem necessary for the support of the National League, always in consultation with and as far as possible in agreemnet with the state Leagues. In making the assessment in each case the Executive Committee shall take into account: (1) The annual income of the state League; (2) The financial resources of the state; (3) The necessary demands for what is considered as peculiarly state League work; (4) The salary of the state superintendent and the salaries of the other employees of the state League; (5) Any special item which in the judgment of the Executive Committee should have an effect upon the assessment on any state. Provided, however, that the assessment shall in no case be less than 10 per cent of the gross annual income of any state League, and provided also, that the assessment shall not exceed 25 per cent of the gross annual income of any state League, except by mutual agreement between the Executive Committee and the Headquarters Committee of the State League. The amounts yielded by these assessments on the gross receipts of the several state Leagues shall be paid into the national treasury, on or before the 15th of each month with the understanding that in such income there shall not be included any funds raised in any state by the national League.

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

12. The Board of Diretcors shall meet at the time and place of each convention. Special meetings shall be called by the president of the Board of Directors upon the written request of not less than a majority of the members of the board from each of seven states. Thirty members of the Board shall constitute a quorum. Notices of called meetings must be mailed to each member of the Board at least 30 days before the meeting is held. All officers of the League and members of the Executive Committee who are not regularly elected members of the Board of Directors shall have the privilege of the floor in the meetings of the Board, but without vote. The members of the Board representing each state League shall be elected by the state by such methods as it may deem best.

TRUSTEES OF THE PUBLISHING COMPANY

13. The Board of Directors shall elect the trustees, who shall hold in trust the stock of the corporate body known as The American Issue Publishing Company, which was organized under the laws of the state of Ohio to conduct the League's publishing business, said Trustees to be five in number and to hold office for one year, or until their successors are elected. Such trustees shall hold all property, real and personal, pertaining to the national printing plant, now located at Westerville, Ohio, as trustees for the Anti-Saloon League of America, and shall not as such trustees or directors receive any salary or any profit whatsoever from the operation of the plant, and neither the Board, as a whole, nor any member of the same shall have power to convey any right, title or interest in said plant to any person or persons other than their successors elected by the national Board of Directors or the Executive Committee, except when ordered to do so by a vote of the Board of Directors of the Anti-Saloon League of America at a regular meeting.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

14. The Executive Committee, nor more than one-third of whose members shall be salaried officials or employees of the League, either State or National, who as such officials or employees shall not be eligible for re-election more than once until a biennial period has intervened, shall act in all matters for the Board of Directors during the interim between meetings of the Board; shall meet as often as twice a year, their necessary expenses in attending such meetings to be paid by the League; shall direct and control the movements and expenditures of the General Superintendent and other active officers of the League; shall provide such assistance as it may deem necessary for the successful prosecution of the work; shall prepare a budget of the probable expenses of the League and report the same together with a digest of its work and proceedings to the Board of Directors for their guidance; shall fix the salary of all active officers of the League, including those of the superintendents of the State Leagues, and shall also have power to fill vacancies occuring in the offices of the League and in the Executive Committee in the interim between meetings of the Board of Directors.

POWERS OF STATE BOARDS

15. The state Board of Trustees for any state League shall determine questions of policy or procedure for the work in that state League in harmony with the policies and plans of the national Board of Directors. It shall elect the state Headquarters Committee and the members of the National Board of Directors allotted to that state by the constitution of the Anti-Saloon League of America. The word "state" shall include the District of Columbia and the Territories.

COMMITTEES ON NOMINATIONS AND RESOLUTIONS

16. Immediately following the adoption of the report of the Committee on Credentials at each regular meeting of the Board of Directors, there shall be appointed in such manner as the Board may determine, a Committee on Nominations and a Committee on Resolutions, consisting of one member from each state.

CONVENTION STORY

The twenty-fourth national convention of the Anti-Saloon League of America, held at Detroit, January 15-19, 1930, was marked by two noteworthy features, one being the emphasis laid upon plans, programs, and methods of procedure, especially in all forms of prohibition educational work; the second being the prominence given to the participation of young people in the convention, and the stress laid upon methods of reaching the young people of the nation and securing their active interest and enlistment in the prohibition educational movement.

Youth at the Convention

The presence of a hundred high school and college students, with their songs, speeches, yells and slogans, with their fresh, youthful optimism and their irrepressible high spirits, bubbling over at every opportunity, undoubtedly served to make this gathering at Detroit the most optimistic and enthusiastic national convention held during the last ten years. The promise for the future of the prohibition movement, as revealed in the determination of the youthful orators and essayists, put new hope and courage into the hearts of the veteran prohibition leaders. During recent years it had been a matter of common observation and comment that the men and women most actively participating in the Anti-Saloon League conventions were, as a rule, past their fiftieth mile-stone; men and women who had given the best years of their life to the fight and who must soon let others bear the brunt of the conflict. But where were those others? To the casual observer, the veterans greatly outnumbered the recruits. But, as was approvingly remarked, the scenery of the convention was changed when Iowa's young people, representing thirty-eight high schools from every section of the state, marched into the hall singing their state song and giving their cheers and yells, to be followed in the same fashion by Nebraska's representatives from fifteen schools of higher learning, two from each, and the students from twelve colleges of Kentucky. Besides these large state delegations from Iowa, Nebraska and Kentucky, students were present from several other states, and Minnesota sent the president of the Students' Sobriety Society, who is leading in a pledge-signing campaign among high school students.

The method of reaching these young people, conducting contests among them, and bringing the winners to the National Convention, origi-

nated with the Iowa Anti-Saloon League. In Iowa it was confined to the high schools of the state. The superintendents of Nebraska and Kentucky directed their efforts towards the colleges and universities. The plan was essentially the same in the three states, and consisted in essay and oratorical contests. The winners were rewarded with the trip to the Detroit convention with all expenses paid. Competition was keen, and many hundreds of students participated. Material for the preparation of essays and addresses was furnished free to the students by the Anti-Saloon League, thousands of copies of the Quiz Book, for instance, being distributed among the schools and colleges. The two highest college student orators from Kentucky and also from Nebraska delivered their orations as non-competitive contributions to the convention program. These students proved to be orators of ability and surprised the convention with their breadth of knowledge on the prohibition question. When Theodore Howard, of Lincoln College, who was the only colored student in his college, and who had won successively the college, regional and state contests, concluded his oration with a passionate plea for prohibition education for the sake of the needier race, the entire audience rose in a great demonstration which lasted several minutes.

But not all the beneficial fruits of these contests, which brought a hundred students to the convention, were limited to the Detroit meetings. Those who participated in the contests, including those who did not win, and there were many hundreds of them, acquired a knowledge of conditions prior to the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment, and since, which they had not before possessed. One of the requirements of the contest was that the winners were to give reports of the convention to their respective schools or colleges. These reports in many instances received from one to four columns of newspaper space in their home communities. Many of the winners have delivered their orations or given their account of the convention before clubs, mass meetings, high school assemblies, Christian Endeavor meetings, church services, district young people's conventions, and other gatherings.

Best of all, the success of this plan for securing attendance of high school and college students has stimulated a number of other State Anti-Saloon Leagues to adopt similar methods in preparation for the next national convention, and have made it probable that many hundreds, if not thousands, of young recruits will bring to the next national gathering the overflowing energy and enthusiasm which made the Detroit session remarkable.

Convention Headquarters

The convention meetings, with the exception of three sessions, were held at the Hotel Statler, which was the convention headquarters, and which, with its Grand Ball Room, lobbies, reception rooms, display space, etc., was admirably fitted for the purposes of a great national convention. Two sessions of the convention were held in the Central Methodist Episcopal Church, located a block from the hotel, and the closing session on Sunday afternoon was held in the beautiful new Metropolitan M. E. Church on Woodward Avenue.

The sessions of the National Executive Committee, the Administrative Committee, and the National Board of Directors, were held in various rooms of the Statler Hotel.

Anti-Saloon League Workers' Conference

The Anti-Saloon League Workers' Conference was held on Tuesday evening and on Wednesday morning and afternoon of the convention week. The Tuesday evening session was called to order by General Superintendent Doctor F. Scott McBride, and Doctor H. M. Chalfant was elected secretary. The workers voted to send greetings to Mr. O. G. Christgau with a message of appreciation for the splendid work he had done, under great physical disability, in arranging for the convention. An offering was taken, and flowers were sent to Mr. Christgau as an expression of appreciation on the part of his friends and coworkers.

Memorial Service

A beautiful and impressive Memorial Service was held, in honor of friends and workers who had died during the biennial period. Tributes were paid to Mrs. Purley A. Baker, wife of the former General Superintendent; E. S. Shumaker, Superintendent of the Indiana Anti-Saloon League; R. L. Davis, former Superintendent of North Carolina; Doctor H. B. Carré, President of the Anti-Saloon League of Tennessee, and member of the National Executive Committee and the Administrative Committee; Judge Charles A. Pollock, for many years one of the Vice Presidents of the Anti-Saloon League of America; Edward H. Emery, former Superintendent of the Christian Civic League of Maine; Judge Nathan W. Littlefield, Vice President of the Anti-Saloon League of America; J. Mitchell Bennetts, District Superintendent of Pennsylvania; Charles Rogers, of Indiana; Mrs. Carrie Bahrenberg, Vice President of the Illinois Anti-Saloon League; Thomas J. Bolger, Treasurer of the Illinois League; Carl J. Andreen, Scandinavian Superintendent of the Illinois League; Ralph E. Owen, of the Nebraska Anti-Saloon League; Doc-

tor Lewis, of Texas; Doctor C. E. Pilgrim, of Michigan; Rev. S. W. Keister, of Ohio; John Hipp, of Colorado; Winslow Russell, former treasurer of the Connecticut Temperance and Anti-Saloon League; Owen P. Kellar, Henry F. Lowe, and Charles S. Davis, all of the Anti-Saloon League of the District of Columbia; John Davidson and W. D. Lewis, of the West Virginia Anti-Saloon League; Mrs. Day, the wife of Dr. Frank J. Day, of Moline, Ill.; Mrs. Cannon, the wife of Bishop James Cannon, Jr., of Washington; Mrs Boynton, the wife of Doctor M. P. Boynton, of Chicago; Mrs. Nellie Barber, wife of former superintendent Barber, of Iowa; Neal Holsaple, the son of Superintendent R. N. Holsaple, of Michigan; the daughter of Superintendent McClellan, of Kansas, and others.

The following eulogy on Superintendent Shumaker was delivered by E. A. Miles, Attorney for the Indiana Anti-Saloon League:

I came tonight illy prepared to pronounce a eulogy on my close friend. Our lives were too intimate. Nearness narrows the perspective, and without a broad vision one can neither adequately describe nor fittingly eulogize. For twenty-two years we were comrades, and for the last two years we were especially close.

In the death of Edward S. Shumaker not only Indiana but the entire nation lost one of its heroes. It took a heroic soul to enter the fight twenty-four years ago against the liquor power of the State of Indiana. The effort would have seemed hopeless to a less dauntless character. There were saloons in all of the counties but two, and red-light districts everywhere. The liquor organization had complete control of the political situation in the dominant parties. Drinking was fashionable and drunkards common. But Edward S. Shumaker feared not. He opposed the liquor business because it was wrong, and he had no tolerance for evil. If an evil existed, he was against it; and though he might know he could not finish a task he was ready at all times to start a fight for what he knew was right.

But the enemy was too vicious and too persistent. The attack in the courts and in the daily press and through the mail never discouraged him, never broke his spirit, but it did injure his body. His nerve centers gave way under the steady, persistent attack. He faced imprisonment as heroically as any martyr that ever sacrificed his life for a noble cause.

It was not my advice nor my desire that he stop the proceedings in court and take the punishment imposed. For nearly three years we kept off the evil day, answering every attack in the courts, hoping there would be a change of one in the personnel and then we would win the case. But the weakening of his body caused Doctor Shumaker to want to finish the struggle. He thought that sixty days in prison would end it all; that that was the quickest way and therefore the best thing to do. Like the hero that he was he insisted on paying the penalty that was so unjustly and so unwisely imposed.

The arduous duties imposed so illegally and so unconstitutionally, on the penal farm, did him no good physically. He returned, to find himself a physical wreck, and undaunted and unwavering he answered the summons which came from on high, as truly a martyr as ever suffered for righteousness.

"Remember the Maine" was the battlecry used by the American navy when it sank the Spanish fleets in Manila Bay and in Santiago Harbor. "Remember

Shumaker" will be our rallying cry in Indiana until the right of free speech is again restored and until the last liquor organization shall disband and the Church shall arise triumphant over the great foe to mankind which he so ably fought.

A School of Methods

The Wednesday morning and afternoon sessions of the Workers' Conference were informal, no set program being arranged. Much of the time of both sessions was taken up by demonstrations of methods of procedure. For instance, Field Secretary Yeiser, of Pittsburgh, called upon an apathetic pastor and endeavored to date him for a League service and otherwise interest him. Field Secretary Forsythe canvassed a business man as a demonstration of methods to be used in soliciting personal contributions for League work. Mr. Hammond, of Iowa, gave a demonstration of methods for dating and promoting the trial, "Who Killed Earl Wright?" Other demonstrations of similar character were given and a number of visitors listened to the proceedings.

Music at the Convention

The music was under the direction of Rev. V. P. Brock, a gifted and enthusiastic evangelistic singer from Indianapolis. Mrs. Brock acted as pianist for the sessions of the convention. Mr. Brock sang a number of solos, including some of the old-time favorites in the old local option and state prohibition campaigns. "The Brewers' Big Hosses" was an especial favorite and was called for repeatedly.

POLICY AND PROGRAM

By direction of the National Board of Directors, Doctor Ernest H. Cherrington was delegated to formulate a statement of the policy and program of the Anti-Saloon League of America. This statement was unanimously adopted by the Board of Directors and later by the convention, as the official expression of the League. The statement follows:

POLICY OF THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF AMERICA

The Anti-Saloon League was created for a definite purpose. That purpose is the extermination of the beverage liquor traffic. Toward this the League has moved steadily forward through the stages of almost thirty-seven years. As a result of the League's work during that period and the efforts of allied forces, prohibition has been written in the basic law of the nation.

The record of the Anti-Saloon League is unique in the history of social reform movements. It has had the vision to see the need; the courage to heed the call; the sense of responsibility to face the problems; the breadth of judgment to adapt its program to changing conditions of the times; the strategy to move forward just as rapidly as a growing public sentiment would permit; the spirit of devotion to persevere; faithfully, patiently, consistently, aggressively, the League has pressed toward the goal of its high calling.

After ten increasingly effective years of national constitutional prohibition,

the Anti-Saloon League today confidenly faces the future and presents the following declaration of policy for the years just ahead:

Legislation

Constantly changing conditions demand additional legislation both in Congress and in the State Legislatures. We stand today for the realization of the announced program of the President of the United States who more than any other chief executive of the nation has definitely committed himself and his administration to the task of securing enforcement of prohibition. We stand for adequate appropriations to meet the demand for making the Eighteenth Amendment fully effective. We urge all law-abiding and liberty-loving citizens to cooperate in all necessary and helpful efforts to secure the largest possible degree of efficiency in local, state, and national administration and enforcement of this salutary legislation.

Political Policy

The League does not affiliate with any political party as such. It does give to its constituency and to the public, facts as to the records and attitudes of candidates for positions which involve the issue for which the League stands.

The definite policy of the League is not to present candidates for public office. It is, however, the fixed policy of the League to use its strength in the effort to prevent the election or appointment of officials whose records and attitudes do not insure a sympathetic and aggressive policy toward prohibition enforcement. Now that the Eighteenth Amendment is a part of the Constitution, we insist that belief in the policy of the government on the beverage alcohol question should be a requirement in the election or appointment of officials who have to do with the enforcement of prohibition.

Attitude Toward Public Officials

We steadfastly believe in that constitutionally guaranteed right of the people "peaceably to assemble and petition the government for redress of grievances." In harmony with the spirit of that guarantee we confidently assert our right as American citizens to state our convictions and to lay these convictions on the consciences of those state and national legislators and officials who represent us in government.

The Anti-Saloon League in this matter depends upon the strength of its cause, the reasonableness of its appeal and the purity of its motives to win political consideration. We believe that government officials have a right to know the attitude of our constituency and that that constituency has a right to have their convictions thus presented to their public servants.

Qualifications for Public Office

Peculiarly is this movement for the solution of the beverage alcohol problem a great social project which was never more so than it is today. More than ever before the enforcement and observance of the prohibition laws are inseparably linked with the great projects for better social conditions. More than ever before the fortunes of prohibition and those of other social reforms are one. More than ever before the object of the Anti-Saloon League and that of other social welfare agencies require the same type of men in public life, and the same open, frank representations as to the qualifications of those seeking public office.

Very definitely in these days the line is being drawn between those candidates for positions of public trust, who are socially minded and those who represent selfish interests seeking special privilege. Consequently, more than ever before, we must give attention to the question of social mindedness in the weighing of records and attitudes of political candidates.

Educational Policy

The major task of the League is to get the truth to the people. Peculiarly is it concerned with reaching those of the oncoming generation who never knew at first hand the beverage liquor traffic of pre-prohibition days. The League therefore definitely sets itself to the task of education in order that the men and women of tomorrow shall know the truth which will insure continued freedom from the slavery of alcohol.

We therefore urge upon the temperance forces of every state the imperative necessity of reviving the teaching of scientific temperance in the public schools, with due regard for those scientific processes and well established rules which belong to public education.

Education for all the people in the interest of the solution of this perplexing alcohol problem must be carried on. Debates and contests, exhibits and pageants, books, periodicals, literature and posters, the radio, the moving picture, the press and the platform, the pulpit and the church school, all present agencies through which sane, authoritative and vital facts may reach the people. We must meet sophistry with logic, falsehoods with facts, insidious suggestions with constructive arguments, error with truth.

Especially must we strive to bring to the attention of the public the fundamentals on which substantial and permanent public sentiment must be builded.

Enemies as Judges

The most eloquent testimony of the effectiveness of the Anti-Saloon League comes from the sworn enemies of prohibition and the most active, insidious and unscrupulous opponents of the League.

The fact that these opponents of that for which the League stands fear this agency of the Christian and moral forces of the nation more than all else, should encourage our friends and should give pause to those good citizens who are tempted to take their cue from the League's enemies and fall in line with its critics.

The need of such an organization as the Anti-Saloon League was never more imperative than it is today. The task to which this League is committed has not been fully accomplished. That will be done only when beverage alcohol and the liquor traffic are but memories of what men once tolerated and endured. Resolutely and devotedly we set ourselves to the completion of the task.

RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were adopted:

The Superintendent's Report

Your Resolution's Committee has received the excellent report of the National Superintendent and would move that he be commended heartily for the diligence, faithfulness, skill and success of his labors during the year. His statesmanlike administration of his important office is shown in the very strong position of our cause in Congress and the enactment of legislation strengthening the legal position of prohibition in the nation.

The report shows also that our superintendent has a firm grasp of the situation in all the States of the Union and is exercising careful supervision of their affairs.

In finance his leadership is exhibited in the very successful campaign of solicitation now well advanced in promoting the Wayne B. Wheeler Memorial Fund.

In closing this report the superintendent made certain recommendations some of which will come before the body from other sources, but your Resolu-

tions Committee would call special attention to Recommendations Three and Four as follows:

(3) In view of the fact that we know and the friends of the cause now realize that the Anti-Saloon League will be long continued in the future; therefore, we recommend that private and public appeals be made that bequests to the Anti-Saloon League be included in provisions of their wills by friends of this cause.

(4) B. That we reaffirm our position on the question of referenda which is in accord with the action of the conferences of organizations supporting the Eighteenth Amendment as follows: Resolved, that it is the sense of this board that the temperance forces of the United States should not be diverted from the main issues in any election to so-called wet and dry referenda on the Eighteenth Amendment or the National Prohibition Law, which referenda are without authority under the Constitution, and which are legally futile and can have no binding effect.

In such state referenda as have to do with laws or state constitutional provisions which have a legal and binding effect the temperance forces should take an active part. We recommend both these resolutions for adoption.

II.

The Report of the Superintendent of Educational Work

With great interest and appreciation we have considered with care the very full and detailed report of Dr. Ernest H. Cherrington on the Educational Work of the World League Against Alcoholism and the Department of Education of the Anti-Saloon League of America.

We are amazed at the extent of this work and gratified that such splendid publicity has been possible with such limited funds. We heartily commend this work and recognizing its immense value both to present progress and the future permanency of prohibition in our country and in the world.

We recommend that it be continued and strengthened with still larger funds as they may be available to the end that our people may know the whole truth about this paramount issue in the confidence that with the knowledge of the truth they may be and continue to be free from the blighting curse of intoxicating beverages.

III.

Resolved, the Anti-Saloon League of America hereby petitions Congress to provide whatever men and money may be necessary to secure the effective enforcement of the prohibition law. It is not a question of dollars and cents but of observance and enforcement of the Constitution and laws of the United States. When men high or low, openly flaunt their determination to violate any law of our country, the government must suppress anarchy and compel obedience to law, regardless of cost. As a matter of fact from the financial standpoint alone the cost of enforcement is small compared with the enormous economic benefits which have come from prohibition "even at its worst." Experience has demonstrated that the more effectual the enforcement of the law the greater have been the benefits to the entire country.

IV.

Resolved, We respectfully insist that the prohibition law should be administered by its friends. It is impossible to secure effective enforcement, where officials, high or low, are indifferent or openly hostile to the law. It is regrettable, but true, that prohibition enforcement has been seriously crippled because some officials have been appointed for purely political reasons with full knowl-

edge of this hostility to the prohibition law. The people have the right to demand the appointment of officials who are known to be sincere friends of the law.

V.

Resolved, We hereby express our hearty approval of the position taken on Prohibition Law Enforcement by President Hoover as indicated in his inaugural address, in his appointment of Law Enforcement Commission, and in his messages to Congress of December third and January thirteenth. While there may be difference of opinion as to details, we favor the passage of such legislation as the President may decide to be necessary to secure better observance and better enforcement of the prohibition law, including his declared purpose to make the capital city the model city of this nation in the matter of law enforcement. We call upon our friends throughout the country to assure the President of their full hearty support in the carrying out of his declared determination to maintain the Constitution and the laws of our country.

VI.

Resolved, Following up the beginning already made we favor the appropriation of whatever amount may be necessary to develop an adequate program of publicity education by the government in support of the Eighteenth Amendment. The evil effect of alcoholism should be emphasized by posters, bulletins, leaflets and press articles prepared by highly qualified experts.

The method employed by the Agricultural and Health Departments of the government to give information and issue warnings can be used most effectively by the prohibition department. The people, especially the young people, should be given the facts underlying the reason for prohibition of the traffic in intoxicating liquor by the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment.

VII.

Resolved, We record our high appreciation of the record which is being made by Dr. J. M. Doran, the Commissioner of Prohibition. He has been doing very difficult work under exceedingly difficult conditions. He has won respect and confidence by his unquestioned sincerity, persistent activity and unusual efficiency. We hope that he may be able to formulate an increasingly effective method to handle the manufacture and distribution of industrial alcohol which must be properly controlled if enforcement is to be successful.

VIII.

The most baneful influence in the public life of the nation is that section of the press which opposes every form of legislation which has for its object the protection of society from the excesses of selfish individualism, recently so absurdly extolled by President Butler under the name of "Higher Lawlessness."

Resolved, That it is regrettable, but true, that there are certain metropolitan newspapers which have almost from the very beginning led in the circulation of defeatest propaganda, not only denouncing the prohibition law (which they have the legal right to do) but attacking government officials because they were faithfully trying to enforce the law, with however not only one word of condemnation for bootleggers, rum-runners, or hijackers, or for that social element which inconsistently and foolishly flaunts its defiance of that particular law, but on the contrary with clearly indicated sympathy for such lawless activity in both news and editorial columns. Many of these papers have not simply fought the prohibition law, but they have been traitors to the fundamental elements of constitutional government, criticizing government officials in the discharge of their duty.

Resolved, That we observe with much satisfaction the firm and sane manner in which Attorney General William D. Mitchell is dealing with the intricate

problems of prohibition enforcement and we have full confidence that under his guidance enforcement of this law will be steadily strengthened and improved.

Resolved, That the choice of Honorable Aaron S. Youngquist as head of the legal branch of the prohibition unit wins our hearty approval. Mr. Youngquist's record and character give abundant assurance that his administration of his department will be conscientious and successful and we pledge him our hearty support.

Whereas, The National Anti-Saloon League has enjoyed a most comfortable and successful convention in the city of Detroit; therefore,

Be It Resolved, That we heartily thank our National President, Bishop Thomas Nicholson, for the generous contribution of his strength and time in preparing for and presiding over the sessions of this convention, his sacrificial spirit in being willing to continue as the National President assures our League of its continued growth and efficiency in support of our National Prohibition policy.

To Superintendent R. N. Holsaple of the Michigan League, the members of his staff, and the fine group of hostesses marshalled by him, we express our deep gratitude for the tireless march, care and personal courtesies they have bestowed upon us.

The local press and the press associations have shown a spirit of fairness and generosity in carrying reports of our meetings. Indeed, the attitude of the newspapers is such as to admonish our folk to prepare our materials more fully that we may make the work of the newspapers in reporting our sessions easier for the editors and reporters. No city press has been more friendly and fair in these matters than the newspapers of Detroit.

The reception tendered our convention delegates by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Detroit was a most delightful occasion and we desire to thank the ladies for their hospitality.

Rev. and Mrs. Virgil P. Brock have not only led the singing of our convention in a most delightful fashion, but have made the song services periods of real worship and inspiration. We desire to express to Mr. and Mrs. Brock our hearty thanks for their generous service.

To the management of the Statler and Tuller Hotels we desire to extend our thanks for the many courtesies they have shown our boards and committees, the fine service at dinners and luncheons, as well as ample provisions in the beautiful rooms of the Statler Hotel for the larger sessions of the convention.

To the pastor and people of the Central Methodist Church of Detroit we are grateful for the use of their splendid edifice for the evening and other sessions of our convention.

A new note of hope and high inspiration has been sounded in our national convention by bringing to it hundreds of young people from several of the states. These young people with their songs, addresses, yells and constant presence in the sessions of the convention have made for this convention an outstanding and rememberable feature. We express the hope that not less than two thousand young people may be marshalled from the various States for attendance upon our next convention in 1932.

Back of the smooth running and constant progress of this convention there has been hidden away in a hotel room the man who, for many weeks, has been preparing the program and giving attention to the numberless details incident to the preparations for our meetings in the person of Mr. O. G. Christgau. Though painfully afflicted with sciatica rheumatism he has continued in active charge of the convention and has most efficiently administered every detail of it. In Mr. Christgau we have the embodiment of that high spirit of devotion and determination so characteristic of men who lead the Anti-Saloon League of America.

CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS

Wednesday Evening Session

The first session of the convention opened with Bishop Thomas Nicholson of Detroit presiding. The convention sang "Marching to Zion" and "I'm Here on Business for My King," and the invocation was offered by Rev. W. F. Kendrick, of Ionia, Michigan. The convention then sang "Wrap Prohibition 'Round the World."

Bishop Nicholson, in introducing the first speaker, welcomed the convention to Detroit, and pointed out that more than $50,000,000 had been given in that city for philanthropic and religious purposes in the last seven years. He then introduced the Hon. Charles Bowles, newly inaugurated mayor of Detroit. Following the address of welcome by Mayor Bowles, Superintendent R. N. Holsaple welcomed the convention, on behalf of the Michigan Anti-Saloon League and the prohibition workers of Detroit. Lieutenant Governor L. D. Dickinson of Michigan was introduced. The proceedings were interrupted by the arrival of the Nebraska delegation of young people. Supt. Holsaple continued the address of welcome, and Bishop Nicholson joined in the greetings from the state of Michigan and the city of Detroit.

The convention sang "Faith of Our Fathers," and Doctor H. C. Gleiss, former president of the Detroit Federation of Churches, began his address, but was interrupted by the arrival of the Iowa delegation, which marched into the room with songs and yells, waving their flags. Doctor Gleiss then proceeded with his address of welcome.

Doctor F. Scott McBride, General Superintendent, addressed the convention on the subject "The League and Elections."

The "Battle Hymn of the Republic" was sung. Doctor A. J. Barton addressed the convention on the subject "Our Strategy for the Future."

The young people's delegations from Nebraska, Iowa and Kentucky sang "My Old Kentucky Home."

The benediction was pronounced by Rev. C. M. Stewart, of Oil City, Pennsylvania.

Thursday Morning Session

The session opened with singing "Onward Christian Soldiers." Prayer was offered by Rev. Myron W. Genter, D.D., of Connecticut.

Short talks were given by State Superintendents and workers, as follows:

"Inform the Teacher"—Thomas W. Gales, Superintendent of the North Dakota Anti-Saloon League.

"Educating Youth Against Alcohol"—Frederick W. Smith, Superintendent of the Christian Civic League of Maine.

"Preparation, Publication and Distribution of League Literature"—Boyd P. Doty, Assistant Manager, American Issue Publishing Company.

"The Church Press and Prohibition"—Doctor William S. Phelps, editor *Michigan Christian Advocate.*

"The Supreme Need"—R. N. Holsaple, Superintendent of the Michigan Anti-Saloon League.

"Our Work in Colleges and Universities"—Roy McCullough, Secretary Intercollegiate Prohibition Association.

"Wet Propaganda"—O. G. Christgau, Washington, D. C. This manuscript was read by Doctor H. M. Chalfant, as Mr. Christgau was confined to his room by illness.

"Church School Publications and the Movement Against Alcoholism"—Doctor J. B. Hawk, associate editor M. E. Church School Publications, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Rev. V. P. Brock sang as a solo, "Carry On! Carry On!" and the convention sang "Jesus Shall Reign Where'er the Sun."

The session closed with a discussion of Newspaper Publicity by J. H. Larimore of Westerville, and W. C. A. Wallar, editor of the Minnesota *American Issue.*

Thursday Noon—Luncheon

This luncheon, which was held in the Ball Room of the Hotel Statler, was largely attended by business men, and scores of messages were sent to be read at the luncheon, by friends who could not be present. Doctor Russell was introduced as toastmaster, and was greeted with cheers and songs by the young people attending the convention.

Prayer was offered by Rev. T. F. Williams, pastor of Trinity M. E. Church, Lafayette, Indiana.

Doctor Russell then led the young people in the Americans' Creed and in the pledge of allegiance to the American flag. He then called on a number of men to offer testimony as to the results of prohibition and to speak on the theme, "Why Industry and Business Should Stand by President Hoover's Program."

Brief talks were made by Rev. Howard O. Hough, D.D., of Portland, Maine, who attended the luncheon as the representative of Colonel Fred

N. Dow, the son of the illustrious Neal Dow; J. F. Wright of Detroit, founder and secretary of the Pathfinders Association of America; B. S. Pearsall, of Elgin, Illinois; Alfred E. Freeman of Philadelphia and New Jersey; Lieut. Governor L. D. Dickinson of Michigan; Delcevare King of Quincy, Mass.; George W. Huntley of Covington, Va.; and Colonel P. H. Callahan of Louisville, Ky. At the conclusion of Colonel Callahan's address the pianist played "Dixie" and the convention joined in the stirring strains of the chorus.

An address by Rev. F. Scott McBride, D.D., General Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League, was followed by short talks by other business men and friends, as follows: P. E. Selby, Cleveland, Ohio; Harvey Yoder, Cleveland, Ohio; Gold Miller of West Virginia; John Trix of the American Ejector Co., Detroit; Joseph Boyer of the Burroughs Adding Machine Co.; Henry Leland, founder of the Cadillac Company and Lincoln Motors; J. E. Van Dyke of New Jersey; R. B. Benjamin of the Benjamin Electric Co., of Chicago; Mr. Lambert of Detroit; Charles E. Coleman of Chicago; Mrs. Florence E. Richard, President of the W. C. T. U. of Ohio; John T. Breece of Portsmouth, Ohio; W. D. Upshaw of Atlanta, Ga.; and James A. White, of Columbus, Ohio.

Doctor Russell also read a number of letters from business men and manufacturers who were unable to be present, notably messages from Thomas A. Edison; R. A. Long, of the Long-Bell Lumber Co., Kansas City, Mo.; C. L. Brokaw, president Commercial National Bank, Kansas City; E. H. Smith, president Harrison Nursery Co., York, Nebraska; and J. W. Kirkpatrick, president Tri-State Motor Co., El Paso, Texas.

The convention then repeated the slogan, "With God's help we shall see this thing through."

"Land O' Mine" was sung as a solo, and the benediction was pronounced by Doctor A. F. Clark of Chicago.

Thursday Afternoon Session

The Thursday afternoon session opened with singing the "Battle Hymn of the Republic." Bishop S. P. Spreng, D.D., of Naperville, Illinois, presided. The invocation was offered by Rev. Frank Doran, D.D., of Minnesota.

The Declaration of Policy of the Anti-Saloon League of America was presented by Doctor Ernest H. Cherrington. Upon motion by George W. Crabbe this was adopted as the expression of the convention.

Addresses were given by State Superintendents as follows:

"Helping Hoover's Enforcement Program"—George W. Crabbe of Maryland.

"Ten Years of Prohibition in Virginia"—Rev. David Hepburn of Virginia.

"A Quarter Century of League Achievements in Illinois"—Rev. Geo. B. Safford, D.D., of Illinois.

"What Is the Call of the Hour?"—Bishop Thomas Nicholson, President of the Anti-Saloon League of America.

Rev. Atticus Webb, D.D., of Texas, moved that the convention request the return of the documents, including proceedings of the National Executive Committee of the Anti-Saloon League, which had been taken from Westerville by the authority of the Reed Investigating Committee of the United States Senate, some years ago, and never returned. The motion was adopted.

Doctor E. A. Maness of Texas moved that the convention go on record commending Bishop Nicholson for his long service to the League and asking that he be continued as President of the National League as long as he lives. The motion was carried.

"Prohibition and the Home" was the subject of an address by Rev. Homer W. Tope, D.D., Superintendent of the Pennsylvania Anti-Saloon League. Rev. James K. Shields, D.D., Superintendent of the New Jersey Anti-Saloon League, spoke on "A New Mass Movement." The benediction was pronounced by Rev. R. H. Rolofson, of Royal Oak, Michigan.

Thursday Evening Session

This session was held in the Central M. E. Church, of Detroit, with Hon. L. D. Dickinson, Lieutenant Governor of Michigan, presiding.

After a song service led by Rev. V. P. Brock, Bishop Thomas Nicholson introduced Lieutenant Governor Dickinson. The invocation was pronounced by Rev. A. C. Millar, D.D., editor of the *Arkansas Methodist*.

Colonel F. B. Ebbert spoke on "The Unfinished Battle." Doctor Ernest H. Cherrington delivered an address on the subject "Prohibition After Ten Years."

The dramatic murder trial, "Who Killed Earl Wright?" was presented by friends and workers of the Detroit Anti-Saloon League offices, under the leadership of S. P. McNaught and George Y. Hammond.

The benediction was pronounced by Rev. Edgar A. Faust, of Detroit.

Friday Morning Session

The Friday morning session was held in the Grand Ball Room of the Hotel Statler, with Rev. W. N. Briney, D.D., of Louisville, Ky., presiding.

Rev. V. P. Brock led the convention in singing "The Fight Is On." A duet, "It Pays to Serve Jesus," was sung by Mr. and Mrs. Brock.

Rev. R. N. Holsaple introduced Doctor Briney as chairman of the meeting. The invocation was pronounced by Rev. C. O. Jones, D.D., superintendent of the Georgia Anti-Saloon League.

Addresses were given as follows:

"Local Enforcement Ordinances and Organizations"—G. Rowland Munroe, Attorney for the Anti-Saloon League of New Jersey.

"Enforcement Under a State Prohibition Law"—Rev. A. H. Briggs, D.D., Superintendent of the California Anti-Saloon League.

"Padlocks and Penalties"—J. H. Collier, Attorney for the Anti-Saloon League of Illinois. This paper was read by Mr. J. W. Langley of Illinois, owing to Mr. Collier's inability to attend the convention.

"Keep Ohio Dry" was the subject assigned to Doctor E. J. Moore, Superintendent of the Ohio Anti-Saloon League. He begged, however, to be allowed to introduce his speech in the person of Hon. Rupert Beetham, Prohibition Commissioner of the State of Ohio. Mr. Beetham then spoke briefly on the law enforcement conditions in Ohio.

The resolutions were read by Rev. George B. Safford, D.D., as the resolutions adopted for the convention.

The convention sang "Hold the Fort for I am Coming." By request, Rev. V. P. Brock sang the old campaign song, "The Brewers' Big Hosses."

Hon. James J. Britt, attorney, United States Prohibition Bureau, addressed the convention on the subject "After Ten Years."

The state student delegations were presented by their respective state League Superintendents, from Iowa, Minnesota, South Dakota, Kentucky, Ohio, and Nebraska. The Kentucky and Nebraska delegations each presented two prize winners, who delivered their winning orations to the convention, as follows: Kenneth Marshall of Richmond, Ky.; Clifford Phillips of Grand Island College, Nebraska; William Smith of Center College, Danville, Ky.; and Theodore Howard of Union College, Lincoln, Neb.

The benediction was pronounced by Rev. William Kotesky, D.D., of Detroit.

Friday Afternoon Session

The Friday afternoon session was held in the Grand Ball Room of the Hotel Statler, Bishop H. H. Fout of Indianapolis presiding.

After a song service, the invocation was offered by Rev. Claudius B. Spencer, D.D., editor of the *Central Christian Advocate*. Addresses were given on the following subjects:

"Mopping Up"—Rev. Atticus Webb, D.D., Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of Texas.

"The American Issue"—S. J. Fickel, Managing Editor of *The American Issue.*

"The League's Relation to Law Enforcement"—E. B. Dunford, National Attorney.

"Progress of Federal Prohibition"—Doctor J. M. Doran, U. S. Prohibition Commissioner.

The ladies who had been acting as hostesses to the convention were introduced at this point, by Superintendent Holsaple. These ladies, many of them connected with the W. C. T. U., had been giving their services as hostesses to make the visitors comfortable and to assist them in every way possible—an innovation in convention routine which was much appreciated.

Mr. and Mrs. Brock then sang as a duet another of the old local option campaign songs, "Molly and the Baby."

The President of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the United States, Mrs. Ella A. Boole, then spoke on "Give Prohibition Its Chance."

Mrs. Lena B. Mathes, superintendent of the Christian Citizenship Association of Chicago, then spoke on "Organizing Women Voters for Victory."

At this point Mrs. Evelyn R. Nicholson, the wife of Bishop Nicholson, was introduced, and brought to the convention the greetings of the Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, of which she is national president.

Rev. E. C. Dinwiddie, D.D., of the International Order of Good Templars, was introduced and spoke briefly to the convention.

Fraternal greetings from Canada were brought by Rev. A. J. Irwin, secretary of the Prohibition Union of Ontario.

Rev. O. R. Miller of the National Civic League, was also introduced and brought fraternal greetings to the convention.

Telegrams of greeting to the convention were read at this point, from W. C. T. U. local unions and workers.

Mr. L. P. Rowland of Detroit was introduced and spoke briefly to the convention.

The dramatic debate, "Seeds of Lawlessness," was presented by the authors, S. P. McNaught and George Y. Hammond.

The benediction was pronounced by Doctor Ralph C. McAfee of Detroit.

After this session, a reception in honor of the Anti-Saloon League workers and delegates to the convention was given by the W. C. T. U. of Detroit, in the parlors of the Central Methodist Episcopal Church.

Friday Evening Session

This session was held at the Central M. E. Church, General Superintendent F. Scott McBride presiding.

The convention sang "Stand Up, Stand Up for Jesus," and "True Hearted, Whole-Hearted." The invocation was pronounced by Rev. E. G. Frye of Cleveland.

An address on "By-Products of Prohibition" was given by Rev. M. P. Boynton, D.D., of Chicago, followed by an address on "Youth" by Hon. W. D. Upshaw of Georgia.

Ernest S. Marks, one of the Young People's workers of Detroit, was introduced, and announced the prizes which had been offered for attendance in the contest they had been conducting.

Mr. Tadeus Olpinski, secretary of the Central Union Against Alcoholism in Poland, was introduced, and brought the greetings of the Polish organization to the convention.

Mr. Brock then sang as a solo "The Brewers' Big Hosses," for which numerous requests had been received.

"Rev. Frank Kingdon of East Orange, New Jersey, then gave an address on the subject, "The Smart Alecks."

One of the Kentucky student delegation offered as a motion "that we, the Young People's Student Delegation, recognizing the manifold benefits of national prohibition, pledge our allegiance and support to the Eighteenth Amendment." The motion was seconded by one of the thirty student delegates from Nebraska and adopted by a rising vote of the students present.

Mr. Ernest S. Marks then announced the prize winners for attendance at the convention. The first prize, a $50 temperance library, went to the Pontiac Young People's Union, and the second prize, a $25 temperance library, went to the Grand River Christian C. E. Society. The First Italian Presbyterian Young People's Society was a close rival of the first prize winner named.

A dramatic debate, "Can the Law Be Enforced," by O. G. Christgau, was presented by Rev. A. J. SandeFur of Lincoln, Nebraska, and Rev. W. T. Dodd of Topeka, Kansas. The benediction was pronounced by Rev. F. Scott McBride, General Superintendent.

Saturday Morning Session

The Saturday morning session was held in the Grand Ball Room of the Hotel Statler, Doctor J. Knox Montgomery, President of the Ohio Anti-Saloon League, presiding.

After a song service, and a poem, "Saving the Nation," recited by George Y. Hammond of Iowa, the invocation was pronounced by Rev. L. W. Sloan, Superintendent of the Louisiana Anti-Saloon League.

The following talks on League problems were given :

"League Methods"—O. M. Pullen, Superintendent of the West Virginia Anti-Saloon League.

"Judging Candidates"—H. E. Dawes, Superintendent of the South Dakota Anti-Saloon League.

"How the League Conducts Campaigns"—J. Bibb Mills, Superintendent of the Alabama Anti-Saloon League.

"Southwest Border Problems"—R. E. Farley, Superintendent of the New Mexico Anti-Saloon League.

"On Columbia, On Columbia" was sung as a duet by Messrs. Bartholow and Brock, and then a verse of "On Wisconsin."

H. T. Laughbaum, Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of Oklahoma, spoke on "The Wet Program to Destroy Prohibition."

W. N. Plymat, national president of the Student Sobriety Society, of Minnesota, was then introduced and spoke to the convention on the work he had organized among high school students.

W. L. Wade, Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of Montana, spoke on enforcement conditions in that state.

Invitations for the next convention were read, from the Chambers of Commerce of Chicago, Columbus, Ohio, and Philadelphia. Doctor McBride moved that the matter of determining the time and place of the next convention be referred to the Executive Committee and the Administrative Committee. The motion was adopted.

Rev. Warren G. Jones, Superintendent of the Wisconsin Anti-Saloon League, spoke on "How Wet Is Wisconsin?"

Rev. George Bennard, of Hermosa Beach, California, the author of "The Old Rugged Cross," was introduced to the convention, and sang two verses of that song, as a duet with Mr. Brock.

Greetings to the convention were read by the chairman, from a number of organizations and friends. Bishop Nicholson called attention to the fact that Hon. S. E. Nicholson of New York City had been the secretary of the Anti-Saloon League of America for thirty-three years, and was only

prevented from attending this convention of the League by illness. A telegram had been sent to Secretary Nicholson by order of the convention, and a telegram from him in reply was read to the convention.

Rev. C. M. Ledbetter of Georgia spoke to the convention briefly.

Doctor E. C. Crawford, of Washington, addressed the convention on the subject "The South and Prohibition."

A representative of the Stout Air Lines was introduced and outlined the sightseeing trip which was planned for the convention that afternoon, describing the Ford plant at River Rouge, the Ford village, the Ford airport, etc.

Resolutions were read by Rev. R. E. Farley (see Resolutions).

The benediction was pronounced by Bishop Thomas Nicholson of Detroit.

Saturday Afternoon

This afternoon was spent in a sight-seeing trip through the business section of Detroit, the Ford plant, the Ford museum village, the airport, etc., the trip being made possible through the courtesy of the Michigan Anti-Saloon League. A number of League superintendents and workers visited the Canadian city of Windsor to see the liquor stores and export docks, etc.

Saturday Evening—The Convention Banquet

The convention banquet was held in the Grand Ball Room of the Statler Hotel on Saturday evening of the convention, and was the high-water mark of the convention. It was attended by hundreds of League workers and friends.

After the singing of "America" the invocation was offered by Rev. M. P. Boynton, D.D. Rev. V. P. Brock sang a solo and Doctor Russell read a cabled message of greetings from the Anti-Saloon League of Sweden.

Doctor Russell then introduced J. T. Henderson, president of the Oberlin Business College, Oberlin, Ohio, and one of the survivors of the meeting at which the Anti-Saloon League was organized, thirty-seven years previously. Mr. Henderson spoke briefly in response to the introduction.

After cheers and songs from the student delegations, Bishop Nicholson read a number of telegrams of greetings, including a message from Mr. Fillmore Condit of California.

Rev. Chester B. Emerson, D.D., pastor of North Woodward Congregational Church, Detroit, made the first address of the evening, on the subject, "The Progeny of Plymouth Rock." Justice Florence E. Allen of

the Supreme Court of the State of Ohio, addressed the convention.

After a solo, "Quit You Like Men, Be Strong," by Mr. Brock, addresses were given by Hon. John W. Summers, Representative from Washington for twelve years, and by William E. ("Pussyfoot") Johnson. Doctor Russell then presented the matter of the Wayne B. Wheeler Memorial Fund.

After brief remarks by Doctor Ernest H. Cherrington and Doctor F. Scott McBride, the roll of the states was called and the representatives from each state stood as that state was called. The convention sang "All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name," and the benediction was pronounced by Rev. W. F. Kendrick of Ionia, Michigan.

Sunday Afternoon

This, the closing session of the convention, was held at the beautiful new Metropolitan Methodist Episcopal Church on Woodward Avenue. Doctor Russell presided.

After singing "Faith of Our Fathers," "Crown Him Lord of All," and "Onward Christian Soldiers," the invocation was pronounced by Rev. James Lawson, D.D., of Detroit. The convention sang "Let the Lower Lights Be Burning," and Doctor Russell was introduced, as presiding officer, and founder of the Anti-Saloon League.

Senator Morris Sheppard of Texas then spoke on the subject "Moonshine Whisky," followed by Doctor F. Scott McBride, General Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League.

Rev. Merton S. Rice, D.D., pastor of the Metropolitan M. E. Church, of Detroit, spoke on the subject "'Prohibit' Still in Prohibition."

Doctor Russell presented the student delegations, and led them in repeating the American's Creed, and in singing "Three Cheers for the Red, White and Blue."

After a few beautiful and appropriate closing words by Bishop Nicholson, and a solo, "Carry On," by Mr. Brock, the convention sang "God Be With You Till We Meet Again," and the benediction was pronounced by Bishop Nicholson.

TELEGRAMS AND MESSAGES OF GREETINGS TO THE CONVENTION

Llanilar, Wales, January, 1930.

Cardiganshire branches of South Wales Woman's Temperance Union greet prohibition tenth anniversary. Go forward.

ROSINA HAVIES, *Organizer,*
HOPE EVANS, *President.*

Stockholm, Sweden, Jan. 14, 1930.

Hail America! First decade of constitutional prohibition inspires us. Brattism losing. Sobriety will win.

SWEDISH ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE,
DAVID OSTLUND, *Supt.*
K. A. WIK.

Rochester, N. Y.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Rochester, New York, assembled to celebrate the tenth anniversary of prohibition, send you greetings and wish you success.

THE ROCHESTER W. C. T. U. FEDERATION and
CHARLOTTE GRIBBROEK, *Corresponding Secretary.*

New York City.

Bishop Thomas Nicholson:

Appreciate deeply your message and action of board. The convention meets at opportune time and has a rare opportunity to announce a program of nation-wide education and information that will establish the fact beyond future question that prohibition is the only solution of an evil like the liquor traffic and that will spell the ultimate defeat of the disloyal and nullification program of the frenzied and fanatical wets. Let our slogan be, Save America from rebellion and for national character, sobriety and rectitude.

S. E. NICHOLSON.

Boston, Mass.

Massachusetts W. C. T. U. send hearty congratulations on ten successful years of prohibition.

MASSACHUSETTS W. C. T. U.

Shreveport, La.

Louisiana W. C. T. U. sends greetings and best wishes to the Twenty-fourth National Convention. Please extend my personal regards to Dr. F. Scott McBride and Dr. Leon W. Sloan.

MRS. W. N. COLLINS,
President, Louisiana W. C. T. U.

Washington, D. C.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the District of Columbia send greetings to the Anti-Saloon League of America in convention assembled. May God give wisdom and guidance in the present crisis and may your anniversary celebration be successful in extending the prohibition cause.

WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION,
MRS. N. M. POLLOCK, *President.*

Hagerstown, Md.

Ten years of prohibition has proved its worth in Hagerstown.

REV. ARTHUR B. MILLER.

Ten years have proved the worth of prohibition as far as our city is concerned. May the next ten years be just as successful.

North East W. C. T. U.,
Vayhinger W. C. T. U.,
Zerelda Wallace W. C. T. U.,
Mrs. E. A. Kemp,
Broadripple W. C. T. U.,
Frances Cleveland W. C. T. U.,
Nashua W. C. T. U.,
Sarah A. Swain W. C. T. U.,
University Heights W. C. T. U.,
Victory Union W. C. T. U.

Richmond, Ind.

We approve your record of ten years and wish you additional success.

Mrs. Oscar Greene,
Vice-President Wayne County W. C. T. U.
Mrs. Dr. Huss,
President Wayne County W. C. T. U.

Indianapolis, Ind.

We approve of the work that has been done by the Anti-Saloon League in Indiana and hope for continued success.

Mrs. W. W. Reedy,
President Central W. C. T. U.

Richmond, Ind.

Ten years have proved the worth of prohibition as far as our city is concerned. May your splendid efforts in the future be just as successful.

Ministerial Association of Richmond,
C. G. McCrooklin, *Pres.*,
John R. Webb, *Sec.*

Bridgeport, Conn.

We approve your record of ten years and wish you additional success.

Mrs. Mary A. Maine,
President W. C. T. U.

Cadillac, Mich.

We approve your record of ten years and wish you additional success.

Official Board,
Mary J. Sutherland W. C. T. U.

Indianapolis, Ind.

We approve your record of ten years and wish you additional success.

Irvington W. C. T. U.

Richmond, Ind.

The first ten years of prohibition have proven beneficial to our county. We can't expect to overcome in ten years what it took the liquor interests hundreds of years to build up. Hold the lines and go on with the fight.

Mrs. Harry Landis,
Temperance S. S. Director.
Wayne County W. C. T. U.

Rawlins, Wyoming.

After ten years' experience with prohibition pleased to report greatly improved conditions in this country. Keep the good work up; we are with you for a dry, happy and prosperous nation.

Geo. C. Austin, *Sheriff.*

"It is admitted that it has been a comfort to see more and better light in our homes and everywhere else. The work done to hasten sobriety and to banish liquor is also turning darkness to light. All good citizens will stand by the wise program of our great President. This reform must go on to world-wide success. More and more, let there be light!"

THOMAS A. EDISON.

"We may rest assured that the experience in the United States will be the same as it has been in Kansas. Sentiment has grown here until our prohibition law is one of the best enforced laws on the statute books."

C. L. BROKAW,
President Commercial National Bank, Kansas City, Kansas.

"When any individual or group of individuals deliberately disregard and violate our laws, they promote disbelief in and opposition to organized government. With President Hoover's plans for law observance, I am in most hearty accord."

R. A. LONG,
Chairman Long-Bell Lumber Company, Kansas City, Missouri.

"Bootleggers and drunken men are more dangerous than bank robbers and thugs. Bank robbers and thugs do not as a rule commit murder unless molested, while drunken drivers crash into men, women and children upon highways and streets of cities and villages. . . . Count upon us to do our part in supporting our President, Herbert Hoover."

E. H. SMITH,
President Harrison Nursery Company, York, Nebraska.

"Without question the country with a citizenship which ignores law is a poor country to live in. It cannot grow and enjoy prosperity. Stand by the President!"

J. W. KIRKPATRICK,
President Tri-State Motor Company, El Paso, Texas.

"Prohibition stands trial well. After only ten years the left-over of what it forbids is no greater than that which remains after forty centuries of what the Ten Commandments prohibit. . . . My faith is absolute in the determination of the President to give effect, as far as possible, to the will of the people relating to the beverage liquor traffic."

FRED N. DOW,
Son of the late Neal Dow, Portland, Maine.

Maine will stand by Hoover. I am too old to go to Detroit. 84 now.

LUCIUS M. PARKINS, *Alfred, Me.*

"What would be the economic effects of prohibition if the law were generally obeyed or well enforced? If we can get the American people to consider that question on its merits, the answer will be so favorable to prohibition that there will thereafter be no question of our ability to enforce it."

T. N. CARVER,
Department of Economics, Harvard University.

"Obedience to law is the test of a nation's fitness to live. The violation of law without quick and adequate punishment means the gradual breaking down of all civilization. The man who violates the law of the land because it does not suit his own convenience, encourages men and women of criminal instinct to violate any or all law which is contrary to their wishes. The banker who violates one law has no right to complain when a man of lower intelligence and lower moral instincts robs the bank and murders the cashier or tellers."

RICHARD H. EDMINDS,
Editor of Manufacturers' Record, Baltimore.

"There is no question but that prohibition has been a blessing to the Commonwealth Steel Company and its employees. Before prohibition, every Monday was looked upon as 'Blue Monday' and every day after pay day was 'Blue day' because the number of men reporting for duty was much less than at any other time, owing to the 'jags' that were being slept off. It was frequently necessary to provide for less production on those days, but this is now a thing of the past and each Monday and the day after pay day are no different than any other day—so far as the attendance of men in the plant is concerned. Steady men are a great advantage to any industry.

"After prohibition went into effect, we used to find many empty flasks around various out of the way places in the plant, but this condition became gradually less and less, and upon inquiring about this the other day I was told that this situation had entirely disappeared. Our experience is that the men who drank to excess in the former days are now mostly all off of liquor, and are grateful that this temptation has been removed, as they find they are much happier, healthier and better able to work than when they were drinking.

"In the days of the saloon the men's pay seldom got past the saloon and into the home. Now we almost never hear of any pay not reaching the home. This means that the wives and children are being better clothed, the children are able to go to school, homes are being bought and paid for, and better furnished, and families are enjoying more of the luxuries of life. One of our leading merchants in Granite City tells me that collections on accounts are much better than they were prior to prohibition. There is no question but that the wage-earner is a better husband, a better father and a better citizen when he is not under the influence of liquor. He is more efficient in his work, more steady, and a safer workman. . . . The large number of automobiles owned by the employees, the quantity of groceries purchased for the home from our employees' service department, all point to the improvements and blessings which have come to the industrial field as the result of prohibition. (We employ an average of 3,000 men.)"

CLARENCE H. HOWARD,
Chairman Board of Directors, General Steel Castings Corp., Granite City, Ill.

"It required seventy years to accumulate in force 50 billions of dollars of life insurance. In only eight years since the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment we have added another 50 billions. This is due in tremendous measure to the fact that this did not go into the coffers of the saloon. There has been the same progress and remarkable increase in savings deposits in our banks: the same increase in ownership of homes by workers, and in the amount of money spent in food, clothing, and schooling for their families. The Eighteenth Amendment is not only the law of our country, but it is a *good* law."

HENRY M. LELAND, *Detroit, Mich.*

Messages of greetings and good wishes to the convention were also received from the following :

Catholic Temperance and Anti-Saloon Association of Ohio;
Rev. Ben H. Spence of Toronto, Ontario;
Morton W. Turner, Vice-President of the Colonial American National Bank, Roanoke, Va.;
Lee D. Latimer, Washington, D. C.;
James H. Ames, Bowdoinham, Maine;
John Orchard, Secretary Dickinson Bldg. & Loan Assn., Dickinson, N. Dak.;
G. M. Palmer, Mankato, Minn.;
Fred P. Adkins, Salisbury, Maryland;
A. C. Andrews, President Andrews Grain Co., Minneapolis, Minn.;
R. B. Benjamin, of the Benjamin Electric Mfg. Co., Des Plaines, Ill.;

Doctor F. W. Boatwright, President of the University of Richmond, Richmond, Va.;
Joseph M. Browne, Attorney, of Pittsburgh;
A. B. Bryant, President First National Bank, Gardner, Mass.;
C. I. Chamberlin, Geneva, Ohio;
Robert W. Darragh, Attorney, Beaver, Pa.;
William H. DeLacy, Attorney, Washington, D. C.;
Edgar H. Evans, President Acme Evans Co., Indianapolis.
Doctor Everett Monroe Ellison, Washington, D. C.;
William E. Ferguson, President Ferguson Lumber Co., Rockville, Ind.;
Cecil Gross, Elkins, West Va.;
Philip G. Hannum, Atlantic City;
E. H. Smith, President Harrison Nursery Co., York, Nebraska;
Thomas N. Kurtz, Pittsburgh;
T. A. Kimes, Pittsburgh;
E. G. Keller, President the Keller Mfg. Co., Corydon, Indiana;
W. I. Lincoln, Marion, Va.;
Frank Lyon, Attorney, Washington, D. C.;
Judge J. C. McWhorter, of West Virginia;
M. H. Masland, Carlisle, Pa.;
Fred D. Maphis, Cashier the First National Bank, Strasburg, Va.;
Irvin G. Miles, Cost Accountant, Bellevue, Pa.;
W. L. Miller, Wheeling, West Va.;
Fred W. Morris, Charleston, West Va.;
L. M. Perkins, Lucius, Maine;
H. G. Pounsford, Cincinnati, Ohio;
W. L. F. Rosenblatt, Atlanta, Ga.;
F. M. Robinson, President E. C. Robinson Lumber Co., St. Louis;
Earl A. Scea, Dickey, North Dakota;
Peter Silman, ex-Treasurer of the State of West Virginia;
Fred B. Smith, Chairman of the Citizens' Committee of One Thousand, New York City;
Charles C. Smith, Exeter, Nebraska;
Snow and Baker Co., Whitefield, N. Hampshire;
Daniel S. White, President Hotel Traymore, Atlantic City;
John Walter, Philadelphia;
Foster Copeland, Columbus, Ohio;
H. W. Austin, Chairman of the Board, Oak Park Trust & Savings Bank, Oak Park, Ill.;
H. E. Beebe, Vice-President, Bank of Ipswich, Ipswich, S. Dak.;
A. T. Bell, Director the Chalfonte-Haddon Hall, Atlantic City;
E. G. C. Bleakly, Attorney, Camden, N. J.;
L. M. Bowers, Binghamton, N. Y.;
C. L. Brokaw, President the Commercial National Bank, Kansas City, Kansas;
Judge John V. Brennan, Detroit;
Harry S. Brown, Waterville, Maine;
J. L. Campbell, Chief Engineer, Northwestern Pacific R. R. Co., San Francisco;
John B. Campbell, Secretary Campbell Paper Box Co., South Bend, Ind.;
John H. Cantrell, Chattanooga, Tenn.;
H. T. Coppes, Nappanee, Ind.;
H. J. Crawford, President the First National Bank, Emlenton, Pa.;
William H. Holman, District Governor of the Lions Club, Bangor, Maine;
W. H. Cowles, editor the *Spokesman Review*, Spokane, Wash.;
Doctor H. M. Crooks, President Alma College, Alma, Mich.;

Walter H. Danforth, Treasurer Bangor Savings Bank, Bangor, Maine;
W. F. Davis, Waterbury, Vt.;
George O. Davis, Ithaca, Mich.;
Andrew Dalziel, The Dalziel Moller Co., San Francisco;
Howard A. Dill, Richmond, Indiana;
Eliott E. Edge, Groveland, Florida;
Delecourt Emerson, Island Falls, Maine;
Emery-Brown Co., Waterville, Maine;
Allan C. Emery, Boston, Mass.;
Henry A. Frye, Attorney, Philadelphia;
John A. Field, Charleston, West Va. ;
C. Carroll Follmer, Grand Rapids, Mich.;
Percy S. Foster, Washington, D. C.;
J. D. Gibbs, Gibbs-Inman Co., Louisville, Ky.;
Simon E. Hallagan, President Hallagan Mfg. Co., Newark, N. Y.;
Edwin M. Hamlin, Milo, Maine;
William Albert Harbison, New York City;
Andrew H. Harnly, Member Michigan House of Representatives, Saginaw, Mich.;
M. N. Hatcher, Fargo, N. Dak.;
Frank J. Harwood, Appleton, Wis.;
Wirt M. Hazen, Three Rivers, Mich.;
Charles S. Hichborn, President the First National Granite Bank, Augusta, Maine;
Horace M. Hill, Minneapolis;
Harry O. Hine, Secretary Board of Education of the District of Columbia;
W. H. Hoover, North Canton, Ohio;
R. H. Hunt, Architect, Chattanooga, Tenn.;
C. S. Hutter, Lynchburg, Va.;
A. A. Hyde, Wichita, Kansas;
H. L. Irish, Turner, Maine;
F. M. Jackson, President Jefferson County Bldg. & Loan Assn., Birmingham, Ala.;
J. W. Kirkpatrick, President Tri-State Motor Co., El Paso, Texas;
Charles H. Knight, Vice-President Paper Makers Chemical Corp., Easton, Pa.;
C. H. Kirshner, President Bankers Mortgage Co., Kansas City, Mo.;
A. A. Kuhne, President Kuhne Bros. Mercantile Co., Troy, Mo.;
F. B. Lambert, Attorney, Minot, N. Dak.;
Julius G. Lamson, President Lamson Brothers Co., Toledo, Ohio;
John H. Livingstone (for fifteen years President of the Boy Scouts of America), Washington, D. C.;
W. Hume Logan, President the Logan Co., Louisville, Ky.;
R. A. Long, Chairman, the Long-Bell Lumber Co., Kansas City, Mo.;
David D. Lupton, President David Lupton's Sons Co., Philadelphia;
George V. A. McCloskey, Counselor at Law, New York City;
Darwin D. Martin, Buffalo, N. Y.;
H. G. Merkle, Allentown, Pa.;
Mortimer May, Nashville, Tenn.;
D. Gold Miller, Gerardstown, West Va.;
E. V. Moorman, President Moorman Mfg. Co., Chicago;
J. C. Penney, the Penney Stores, New York City;
J. W. Perry, Attorney, Huntington, West Va.;
J. B. Pipkin, Reidsville, N. Car.;
W. M. Pogue, Rising Sun, Maryland;
C. H. Presbrey, President Presbrey-Leland Studios, New York City;
Prof. E. A. Ross, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Wisconsin;

Edward W. Rowe, B. Sc., M. D., F. A. C. R., Past President Nebraska State Medical Assn.;
O. M. Habberstad, Scanlan-Habberstad Bank & Trust Co., Lanesboro, Minn.;
John W. Sibley, Secretary Birmingham Clay Products Co., Birmingham, Ala., for thirty-two years Treasurer of National Brick Mfgrs. Assn.;
Lansing F. Smith, President American Educational Society, St. Louis, Mo.;
E. U. Sowers, Lebanon, Pa.;
I. S. Spencer's Sons Inc., Guilford, Conn.;
C. C. Stoll, President Stoll Oil Refining Co., Louisville, Ky.;
George Stoll, Stoll Oil Refining Co., Louisville, Ky.;
Richard Talbott, Ellicott City, Md.;
George H. Trainer, Salem, West Va.;
W. O. Wales, Lynchburg, Va.;
John A. Waterman, Gorham, Maine;
Daniel S. White, Atlantic City, N. J.;
Lewis T. Wilmarth, Grand Rapids, Mich.

ADDRESSES

WEDNESDAY EVENING SESSION

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

HON. CHARLES BOWLES, *Mayor of Detroit*

I am sure it is a real pleasure for me to stand here before you, just for a moment, to express to you a word of welcome. I am sure also that I voice the feeling of the well-thinking citizens of this great city when I say to you that you are welcome; that we are glad to have you here. Detroit is gratified that a convention of men and women who have united together to stand shoulder to shoulder for the uplift and betterment of the whole country, for the protection of morals, should see fit to come here and hold their biennial convention in our city.

We of Detroit are always glad to have visitors but we are especially glad to have a convention of people from all sections of the country to come here. We want you to see our city; we want you to know about it and understand it; we need your help, we need your thought, we need your assistance. You are engaged in a great work, that presents great difficulties. I sometimes think, however, that great difficulties serve to attain a firmer purpose—they give the determination that eventually is bound to bring about the success for which they aim.

Detroit has many problems. It has many difficulties, of which you who live here are especially aware. Yesterday it was my privilege to express myself to some considerable length upon those problems. Not the least among them was the one with which you are especially united to deal and to consider. I have drawn a picture of that situation which I think was justifiable, and I have expressed my determination—the determination of the city officials—to cope with it to the very best of our ability. I have often remarked, while it was my pleasure to serve as judge of the local court here, that public officials can do very little in the accomplishment of law enforcement and good government unless they have the sympathetic cooperation and encouragement of the citizens at large. That is quite necessary, and I know that on my part, individually, and on the part of the other officials of the city we need the sympathetic cooperation and encouragement of every well-thinking citizen.

We are glad to have you here. We are glad to have you come from other states and other sections of the country to be among us for a while and study our city and know it. We claim to have a great city here, notwithstanding many of the problems which I need not presume here to mention. Other cities share with us in these problems. We want you as I said to find out about our city, and perhaps, sometime, you will come here to stay. We will be glad for that. I am sure you won't regret it.

So, my friends, I appreciate this opportunity to express to you my hearty welcome, and as I say, I know I express the real feeling of the people of Detroit when I bid you welcome as you come here to hold your convention, and to deliberate. I trust your meeting may be successful in every way, that your deliberations may bring you to conclusions that will help you in your arduous task. Enjoy yourselves, and come again when you can.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

Rev. R. N. Holsaple

Superintendent of the Michigan Anti-Saloon League

It is no idle remark when I say that it is a real and genuine pleasure for me as Superintendent of the Michigan Anti-Saloon League to be permitted to welcome you to this biennial convention of the Anti-Saloon League of America. We have looked forward to your coming for a long time, with a great deal of eager anticipation. The State Board of Trustees of the Michigan League took action at its annual meeting last June instructing the committee to extend an invitation to the management and program committee of the Anti-Saloon League of America to hold this convention here. It just happened that Doctor McBride was present at that meeting and while we were prepared to do just what we have had to do over and over again, in seeking a great convention for this city, get out the Convention Bureau boosters and secure a letter from the mayor and special letters from other organizations in order to influence the committee to accept our invitation, what was our great surprise, immediately when the board of trustees extended the invitation, to have Doctor McBride get up and say that they accepted the invitation to come to Detroit. And from that time forward all the staff in the office and all the men in the field have been laying their plans and looking forward to this convention.

You have heard of Detroit before coming here, I am sure. I suppose that when the announcement was made that the convention would be held in Detroit, nearly all of you had already heard of this city. It is, we think, a great city. I began coming to Detroit 25 or 26 years ago. It seems like a dream to me today as I drive up and down our beautiful thoroughfares and see the wonderful development of this unrivaled city—it seems that it must be a dream. It seems almost impossible that in a few short years any community could attain to the height that Detroit has reached. We are not only recognized as the dynamic city, but Detroit has demonstrated in a thousand ways to the world that it is a dynamic city, a city of dynamos. Everything here, nearly everything, is conducted on a gigantic scale. We have the greatest automobile factories in the world. We make more automobiles than all the rest of the world put together. We have the greatest churches in the world. There is no city in the world where the church, and church attendance, and the institutions of the church and the policies of the church, and the teachings of the church, mean so much as they do in this city. I say that regardless of whatever else you may have heard through careless speech of this city. It is an inspiration and a revelation to go on our avenues when our big churches are letting out at noon on Sunday and see the crowds pour out of these temples of worship, churches of every denomination.

A short time ago it was reported that we had 30,000 illicit liquor joints in this city, bootleggers, stills, etc. That means that for every five or six houses in this city there is a still or a bootlegger; and I would be very glad to have you take a few trips around this city and then tell us what you think about it; whether you think that when you count the hundreds of fine residences in this city where it is inconceivable that liquor is dispensed or manufactured, and average that up with the crowded apartment houses and individual and double and triple homes in this city, whether in your judgment it is possible, or probable to say, that there would be a still or a bootlegger's joint in every fifth or sixth house in this city. I would not have you think that Detroit is a spotless town and that there is no bootlegging here, or vio-

lation of the prohibition law. There is bootlegging here. There is some violation of the law here; but I say to you that there is no visitor to this convention who could start out from here tonight and unaided find a place where he could purchase intoxicating liquors on the strength of his own identity. That has not always been so. It has not been long since any stranger in Detroit, coming into this city, found a thousand and over liquor joints opening their arms to him at every turn of his way. Today while we have too much liquor sold in this city—more than there should be—and more than there need be, and more than there will be after the present administration does its work, nevertheless if strangers want a drink in our city, they must do what they are required to do in every other line under prohibition, they must first establish a line of credit. We hope that you will be happy while you are here. We hope that we shall be able to make your stay pleasant. You are invited to visit the Michigan League headquarters in this city, located at No. 2631 Woodward Avenue. You will be welcome to the office and it will be a delight to show you through a very modern and up to date Anti-Saloon League plant.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

Rev. H. C. Gleiss, D.D.

Former President, Detroit Federation of Churches

It is distinctly a privilege and an honor to greet you, on behalf of the Detroit Council of Churches, representing some 400 churches of seventeen or eighteen denominations, all of them interested with us in this great, splendid work.

We bid you welcome, noble hosts of the Anti-Saloon League. There is nothing formal or staid in this welcome. It comes from the heart; it comes from the soul. We are glad you are come to be with us and to be our guests. Next to our devotion and love to our Lord Jesus Christ and his church are we interested in the work which the Anti-Saloon League is standing for, has accomplished and is accomplishing. One decade ago that noble experiment of prohibition was entered upon and the world is taking notice of it. More than one of the nations has said that we, drunk, cannot compete with America sober, and America's success is largely the success of the experiment of a dry nation, of people looking forward to higher, nobler and better aims. You as the organizations of the Anti-Saloon League, and that League through you, representing the churches, thus are the outstanding exponents of this idea in our own country. There are many other influences, other forces, other organizations, but without the Anti-Saloon we feel that we should be quite hampered, quite helpless, in many respects, and very much handicapped in the struggle that is on.

I shall refer you to the moral problems that are before us as a nation and as a city, growing more rapidly than any other city in the world, with splendid factories and hotels and all they stand for, but with a hard endeavor to find it possible to erect churches and Sunday Schools that might build up, and counteract those other influences. You can see the problems that are involved. We have about 68 percent or 70 percent of our population either foreign born or the children of foreign born parents, with the European conception of temperance. We are bounded by the river on this side, and the river is wet, and that gives us a frontier problem.

The conflict is not won. The battle is not over. There are great and heroic days ahead of us. But we are glad we have you and these mighty leaders in that task. We bid you welcome. We bid you go forth to that

task and win, for win we must. You have made enemies and we love you for that. If you had not made enemies of some of them we could not love you so much. We hope you will have glorious days ahead until the final victory shall be won.

THE LEAGUE AND ELECTIONS

FRANCIS SCOTT MCBRIDE, D.D.

General Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of America

Prohibition became necessary because of the evils of the alcoholic liquor traffic. It came to answer the question, "How Solve the Alcoholic Liquor Problem?" It is, therefore, not a question but an answer.

The Anti-Saloon League came in the early nineties to present prohibition as the best answer to the liquor question. Something had to be done. The traffic was growing by leaps and bounds. The halls of legislation were falling before the propelling political power of this evil and organized traffic. The brewers and the distillers who owned or controlled one hundred and seventy-seven thousand saloons were the most potent and poignant political force of the day. The people were galled under the heavy yoke and were moaning and groaning and crying out for help.

While a student in Muskingum College, Ohio, in fellowship with other college students, one of whom was James A. White, I listened to an Ohio League man, probably Dr. Purley A. Baker, as he gave the plans and purposes of the Anti-Saloon League. These plans were new and different. After the meeting we discussed the proposed plans. We were convinced that the program suggested would solve the problem and do it in this generation. The foe was a formidable one, but this put the people, whose will is supreme, back of prohibition on election day. Dr. Howard Hyde Russell had outlined with one stroke of the pen the League's program for a century in the words, "Agitation, Education, Legislation and Law Enforcement." Make prohibition sentiment and get it into action on election days. Former plans were theoretical but the League plan was practical; others were impossible, this was possible.

It is the purpose of the program committee in this convention to stress League methods. The committee has asked me to talk on the "League and Elections." It is a far-reaching story. As I try to fully comprehend it, I sympathize with the bright colored boy who appeared before the Civil Service Commission in Washington to be examined for the position of letter-carrier. The first question was answered easily but the second one, was, "How far is it from the earth to the moon?" "How fah am it from de earf to de moon?" echoed the astonished applicant, "Good gracious boss, if yous gwine give me that route I don't want dis job." But I shall gladly endeavor to go as far and as faithfully as I can with this subject, even though I didn't ask for the job.

More than ninety per cent of Anti-Saloon League activities cluster about elections. Here is the heart of the Anti-Saloon League movement. The League's educational work, legal and enforcement work all huddle up close to the matter of elections. Here the League must continue to function if prohibition is to be held and advanced. The League's program of elections is two fold:

First: Legislative, or Law Making.
Second: Executive, or Law Functioning.

Legislative or Law Making

The first step toward the outlawry of the liquor traffic was the enactment of law. These first laws were local option measures, under which 90 per cent of the cities and villages were voted dry. The next step was legislation granting

township option under which 85 per cent of the townships of the country voted dry. Later on it was legislation granting county option, the securing of which made possible the voting dry of all but 505 of the 3,100 counties of the country. When the sentiment had grown and become better organized it was legislation for State-wide option, under which 26 States voted out the saloon. The liquor question had thus become a major issue in the election of members of State legislatures in every State. It was the League that gave the message of the records and attitudes of the candidates for legislative offices to the people and the battle was fought out between the League and the liquorites. These contests centered in the primaries and regular elections. The League's part was to "wise up" the people so that they could make their choice as to candidates.

In 1913, the Webb-Kenyon bill regulating the interstate shipment of liquor was passed by Congress and prohibition immediately became a national issue.

The Anti-Saloon League that same year held its famous Columbus convention at which there was appointed a Committee of One Thousand to go to the Capitol and present the case of the drys to the leaders in Congress. This committee grew from one thousand to twenty-eight hundred—eight hundred Woman's Christian Temperance Union women joining in the procession as we marched down Pennsylvania Avenue and up to the East steps of the Capitol where Senator Sheppard and Congressman Hobson, with fitting formalities, were handed the message.

Prohibition was henceforth a vital issue in every Congressional election throughout the entire country. On the first roll call in Congress a majority voted for the amendment, but not the two-thirds required under the Constitution. But this support in Congress grew until on the first day of August, 1917, the United States Senate voted 65 to 20 for the prohibition resolution, and on the 17th day of the following December, the House voted 282 for and 128 against, and the resolution was submitted.

The question of the ratification of the Prohibition Amendment became a dominant issue in the election of the members of the different state legislatures. Under the terms of the resolution, there were seven years in which to accept or reject the amendment. It took one year and one month, lacking one day, to bring about ratification in the required three-fourths of the States. Forty-six of the forty-eight States ratified—all except Connecticut and Rhode Island. Ninety-three of the ninety-six legislative bodies of the country voted for ratification, and the total vote of the members of the legislatures of the country, including the House and Senate, was 5,079 for and 1,265 against—more than 4 to 1.

The Eighteenth Amendment was submitted by more than the necessary two-thirds vote in Congress and was ratified by an 80 per cent majority in forty-six State legislatures. Did these results just happen? Rather they were the natural outcome of the campaigns conducted in primaries and elections. The League followed its practice of carrying the facts as to the records and attitudes of the candidates through the churches and precinct organizations to the voters. The church vote was registered and recorded, and the people, organized and informed, got results.

Following the ratification in 1920, of the Eighteenth Amendment, the wets began their fight for repeal. They said that while the Congress of 1920 was dry, the one in 1922 would be wet, but there were more drys elected in 1922 than in 1920. With an indescribable optimism they said that "while we failed in 1922 we will win in 1924." Likewise, two years later they said, "We did not do it in 1924, but prohibition is now being fully discredited, and we will do it in 1926." But following the regular method as to elections the Anti-Saloon League carried the facts as to the records and attitude of the candidates to the people and more drys were elected in 1926 than in 1924. In the 1928 election the wets were better

manned and better financed than ever before; with unlimited literature and means with which to organize they set out to prove that prohibition was a failure, that a wet was sure to be elected President and should have a wet Congress to back him. But the Congress that took its place in regular session the first of last December is the driest Congress that has ever walked up Capitol Hill.

The drys' lobbying is done back in the districts and when well done there, little more is needed in Washington. The drys, with the great handicap of an unfriendly press in metropolitan centers, carried their case direct to the people. Being right economically, socially and morally, with scarcely enough money to print their message, they trampled under foot every opposing fiend and foe and wrote the convictions of the people into the legislative records of the States and into the Constitution of the United States.

In all this, the great "wicked" part the Anti-Saloon League has played was, to give the people the facts as to the records and attitudes on the prohibition question of those seeking legislative offices.

Executive or Law Functioning

The Eighteenth Amendment is in the Constitution. It was placed there by the largest majority given to any portion of the great Magna Charta of our rights and liberties and should be the last repealed or nullified. It is for us to defend it and to see to it that this law, now enacted, functions through orderly constitutional government. To do this, there must be placed in authority executive officers who wish this law to succeed and will use the powers entrusted to them to make it succeed.

The League could abandon no field already entered. Much of its work requires now a more direct and more expensive program. No primary election or regular election to legislative offices could be neglected, but the question of what code of officers will execute the law and make it to function has become also a very vital issue. This was particularly true in relation to the larger cities. The city is the last stand of the liquor enemy and it now fights back and will continue to fight back, the strongest and the longest.

The population in the United States is fast becoming urban. There are eight city centers or areas in which the population exceeds that of all the farms in all the states—namely, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago, Denver, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. The prohibition law must eventually win in the city by having officers who will keep their oath of office.

Prohibition is proving itself even in the big cities. In Chicago there were 7,152 saloons and 12,000 speakeasies during the saloon regime. While prohibition has not corrected all the evils of liquor, it is now a new city under prohibition. The wets who used the strength of the big cities against local option are now using the wet strength of the cities for wet local option by electing every possible officer they can to defy this law. There is no short cut to victory. The city must be taken if the victory is to be complete. The injunction that comes to us is, "Go up to Nineveh." In the city are the centers of publicity. The political boss lives there; the press associations and news syndicates are located in the city. News travels from the big cities out. Millions of foreign born, unfamiliar with American ideals, have settled there. There are more Jews in New York than in Jerusalem; more Italians than in Naples; more colored folk than in New Orleans. The truth about alcohol and law must be carried there.

The Roman Empire collapsed when her rural districts drained into the city, but America can prove the worth of a democracy by taking the city for law and order. But this means registration; and voting intelligently on primary and election days.

We have had a kindly welcome from the different agencies, including the

mayor of this great city tonight because of the fact that the better patriotic citizens of Detroit took the trouble to register and vote in elections. Two times your city came dangerously near turning your government over to those who openly advocated nullification. May your election be an urge to all lax cities of the country. May it stand as a commemorative monument of what happened to John W. Smith and the other Smith lineage in 1928 and be a foretoken of what can and will happen to the whole Smith family if they again choose to run in 1932.

The Presidential Election

In 1928, the prohibition issue became a dominant one for the first time in a Presidential election since the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment. A Presidential candidate raised the issue. Both leading party conventions adopted satisfactory enforcement planks in their platform. The Republican convention followed by nominating Herbert Hoover of California. The Democratic convention nominated Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York.

Between the convention at Kansas City and the convention at Houston the Anti-Saloon League gave out an official statement to the effect that it was satisfied with the platform and candidate at Kansas City and hoped that the Houston convention would give a similar platform and a candidate who would accept the platform, and the League made it clear that in case this was done it would not support one candidate as against the other, thereby following strictly its nonpartisan policy.

Hoover said, in accepting the platform of his party that he would stand for prohibition enforcement and throughout the campaign he made it clear that he wished prohibition success. Governor Smith, however, on the last day of the Houston convention sent a telegram of acceptance in which he stated in substance that on the prohibition question he, himself, would be the platform.

The issue was thus clearly defined in the election of the Chief Executive of the United States, who is by virtue of his power, authority and obligation the chief law enforcement officer of the nation. The Anti-Saloon League invited by the wets into the field for the election of a President, followed the same methods fundamental with the League in the thirty-five years of successful history that preceded. It raised a special campaign fund of $100,000 which was used to carry the facts as to the attitudes of the candidates to the voters. Twenty thousand dollars of this (or about one-fifth) was expended for printing in our own printing plant at Westerville, Ohio, and the rest was spent for postage, telephone and telegraph, other literature, meetings and expenses of travel by workers in an effort to inform the people of the issues involved and to carry the message of the records and attitudes of the candidates to the voters.

We were not in any way to blame for what Smith's record was. He made it. We, however, would have been very derelict to duty had we failed to carry the facts of that record to the voters of the nation as it touched the prohibition question. More than five million of Smith's records were distributed. This printed statement gave page and date; facsimile copies of which we have filed in the safe in our Washington office. We widely distributed through press and pamphlet a leaflet on "The Next President and Prohibition." It set forth the need of a President favorable to prohibition enforcement, called attention to his great appointive powers including the personnel of the Prohibition Department, the Attorney General, members of the Supreme Court, Federal judges, United States district attorneys, and United States marshals. Also that he appointed the Secretary of State, Ambassadors to foreign countries, and made clear the fact that the President would be the leader of his party and by his veto power largely determines appropriations and legislation. It also outlined the attitude of both candidates and set forth the personnel, purpose and character of the

Smith campaign supporters, giving the facts as to why John J. Raskob and August A. Busch, both formerly Republicans, were among the chief supporters of Smith, the Democratic candidate.

The contents of this one leaflet was carried to the churches and other co-operating agencies, reaching, on a conservative estimate, 25,000,000 voters. It met clearly the issues of the campaign and gave the people a chance to intelligently decide as to their duty on election day. The people answered this challenge by giving Herbert Hoover the largest electoral vote in the country's entire history—the vote being 444 for Hoover and 87 for Smith, his wet opponent. Forty-three States elected dry governors, thereby establishing an executive co-operation between the States and the nation.

This election made the greatest leap forward in establishing official responsibility to the Constitution and the law. The wets said, "Let the Anti-Saloon League enforce this law." The election said, "The officers will do it and the Anti-Saloon League will back them up if they do their duty and back them out if they fail."

The President-elect bravely accepted his responsibility. In his inaugural address he said: "I have been selected to execute and enforce the laws of the country. I propose to do so to the extent of my ability." He placed his finger upon the text: "Where there is no vision the people cast off restraint but he that keepeth the law, happy is he." (Prov. 29:18), and in less than ten minutes of his address he said more about prohibition enforcement than had been said in any ten years preceding by any chief executive in the United States, or of any other country.

It is just as important to take care of the elections of proper men to administrative offices as it is to elect the right kind of officers to those having to do with the securing of legislation. By tying together the elections for legislation and elections for administration, prohibition is given its chance. Such legislation and appropriations as are necessary to effectively enforce the prohibition law should be provided, and officers who believe in the law should be placed in charge.

Conclusion

The Anti-Saloon League has enlisted for the duration of the war to solve the alcoholic liquor problem. Its position has been unique in that no penny of patronage or office of honor has been sought. The first ten years of prohibition has been a struggle, but prohibition is coming through. Be of good cheer. As in the past the League has functioned in electing legislative officers it will continue to carry on a militant aggressive warfare until prohibition is in the hands of both legislative and executive officers who will give prohibition its rightful chance. We have long since learned that you cannot win this fight with soft words and gentle gestures. It must be an aggressive, militant fight until country and city submits to law.

The League will continue to carry the records and attitudes of the candidates to the people until through their voice the lingering, lawless and lying liquor traffic, now an outlaw, surrenders to the law and the Constitution.

The League was born of God. It has been led by Him, and will fight on while He leads. And the one thing that stands forth in this progressive age is that those things that are in the way of the progress of the Kingdom of God must get out of the way.

"Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord,

* * * *

"I have read his fiery gospel writ in rows of burnished steel.

"Let the hero born of woman crush the monster with his heel.
"Our God is marching on!

"He has sounded forth His trumpet that shall never call retreat,
"He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment seat.
"O, be swift my soul to answer Him, be jubilant my feet.
"Our God is marching on!

"In the beauty of the lilies, Christ was born across the sea;
"With a glory in His bosom that transfigures you and me,
"As he died to make men holy, let us live to make men free;
"While God is marching on!"

OUR STRATEGY FOR THE FUTURE

ARTHUR J. BARTON, D.D., LL.D.

Mr. President and fellow soldiers in the cause of good government and human welfare:

We are assembled as soldiers, soldiers in as righteous and glorious a war as was ever fought by the sons of men. Our warfare is not carnal but spiritual. our weapons are not of the flesh, but of the spirit. We have done no man evil or harm, nor shall we; we have fought and will fight only to clothe the naked, feed the hungry and lift up the fallen; rather we have fought and will fight to keep men, women, and children from becoming naked and hungry, and to save them from the plunder and ravages of the most cruel and heartless and inhuman traffic ever known to man, to save our people from the poverty and crime bred everywhere by the traffic in strong drink and to save our government from the blighting influence and corrupt control of such a traffic.

Battle after battle has been won; time and time again the enemy has been put to rout; stronghold after stronghold has been taken; times without number our white banner of righteousness and peace has waved above the black banner of the death-dealing forces, dripping with human blood and befouled by political plunder. The enemy has been driven from every field of open combat. Only the sharp-shooters and bushwhackers remain to carry on their dastardly attacks upon humanity and upon orderly government and constituted authority. The army of bushwhackers must be subdued, whether they are found on rum row, in the editorial rooms of venal newspapers, or in the halls of the Congress of the United States.

We could easily and happily spend all of our time in recounting and in rejoicing over the victories already won. But this is a council of war, and soldiers have no time for mutual felicitations over past victories, however brilliant and glorious, while battles remain to be fought. Our business here and now and for the days ahead is so to lay our lines of strategy, so to mobilize and marshall and train our forces, so to carry forward the crusade that it shall speedily come to pass that every insurgent and rebel shall be subdued and brought to a frank, even though unwilling, obedience to the voice of constituted authority, embodying and expressing the will of an overwhelming majority of great and free democracy.

It may be fairly assumed that no member of this assembly needs to have recounted to him the several successive steps by which the beverage liquor traffic has been outlawed and branded as the heartless criminal it is in our Republic, and we are not here speaking to the unbelieving and rebellious souls who may yet be found. However, we are celebrating the tenth anniversary of National Prohibition and it may be well to note briefly how it came to be. Before

National Prohibition was adopted we had no license, low license and high license. We had tried precinct option, municipal option, county option and State prohibition. We had even tried the most offensive, fruitless and corrupting of all solutions, so-called government control. And always and everywhere the liquor traffic proved itself to be the same diabolical and lawless business which refuses to recognize any authority, respect any right or obey any law.

National Prohibition did not come suddenly and was not "put over" on "our boys" when they were away in France and Flanders. It was not "put over" on anybody. It was and is the expression of the will of an overwhelming majority of the American people. The figures have been given frequently. In a recent address Dr. Cherrington gives the following summary:

"Before this amendment was adopted, 75 per cent of all the counties in the United States, 80 per cent of all the villages and 85 per cent of all the townships were already under prohibition by local or State legislative provisions. Before national prohibition was adopted two-thirds of the members of the United States Senate and 70 per cent of the members of the lower house of Congress, sat in Washington repreesnting prohibition States and prohibition Congressional districts. Sixty-eight per cent of the population of the nation lived in territory from which the liquor traffic had already been banished by law. The United States Senate by a vote of 65 to 20, and the National House of Representatives, by a vote of 282 to 128, submitted the prohibition amendment to the several States."

As to the ratification of the amendment, Dr. Cherrington says:

"The original Constitution, when it went to the several States for ratification or rejection, was ratified by an aggregate majority of about two to one. Taking the record of all the State legislatures composed of an aggregate of 6,349 representatives and senators, the Eighteenth Amendment was ratified by a majority of more than four to one.

"Each of the nineteen amendments was submitted to the States in exactly the same way.

"The Bill of Rights, constituting the first ten amendments, was ratified by the bare three-fourths majority required. If a single State of those which voted for ratification had failed to ratify, the first ten amendments would not be in the Constitution today.

"The Eleventh Amendment received the bare three-fourths needed; the Twelfth Amendment was ratified by thirteen out of seventeen Staets; five did not ratify the Fifteenth; six did not ratify the Sixteenth; twelve did not ratify the Seventeenth, and ten never ratified the Nineteenth.

"But when it came to the Eighteenth Amendment, forty-six of the forty-eight State legislatures ratified."

In the light of such a summary, I submit that only the incorrigibly stubborn and rebellious will insist that our present order is not the expression of the well considered and mature judgment and will of the American people and is not the product of the regular and orderly working of the machinery of democratic government.

But we are not here to dwell on the past, except as it may hearten and strengthen us and inflame us for the battle just ahead, namely, the subduing of the insurgents.

For this battle I desire to propose some lines of strategy, which seem to me to promise us final and complete victory not long delayed.

Some Material Benefits of Prohibition

I. We must not, we will not, overlook or fail to recount the material benefits and blessings which have come to our people, to all the people, through this

great reform. These blessings can not be fully told, not even compiled much less told, not any more than you could tell the stars of the heavens or the sands by the sea. The extent of our territory is too vast, our resources too great and varied, the enhancement of our values directly traceable and attributable to prohibition are too many and too great for any one, however expert, to recount or even to discover all of them. Professor Fisher, Professor Feldman, and Professor Nystrom and other eminent economists have done much to aid us. We will not overlook these things. We will recognize that when you touch a man's pocketbook you touch his heart; that many of our highly respectable and worthy citizens are moved more by material than purely spiritual considerations and that they will be most speedily and effectively convinced of the righteousness of our cause and the glory of our victory by authentic and reliable exhibits of facts and figures giving the material blessing which we have brought to our common country.

One of the exhibits of this character which have appeared recently is in an article in the January issue of the "Ladies' Home Journal" by Samuel Crowther. Hear this brief summary by this thoughtful and careful writer. Mr. Crowther says:

"Let us see something of what this new order of life has brought about in the way of material wealth. Of course material wealth is not everything. There are things of the spirit. And it may be that the spirituality of our women is greatly hurt by washing-machines, and that washtubs are great aids to higher thought. That point will not here be argued. We shall here deal only with gross and material concepts.

"The total realized income of the nation, as found by the President's Committee, stood at not quite sixty-six billion dollars for 1919. It dropped to a low point of sixty-three billion dollars in 1921. Since then it has been mounting and for 1928 is put at eighty-nine billion dollars.

"Every figure of wealth that we know has steadily climbed. The index value of sales in department stores has gone from 87 in 1921 to 108 in 1929, and in mail-order houses from 67 to 137. In 1919 we had only two thousand mechanical refrigerators, and in 1928 we had nearly a million and a quarter. During the same period, washing-machines ran from less than a million a year to around six million. Neither mechanical refrigerators nor washing-machines can be considered as appointments of the wealthy. Every one is familiar with the tremendous increase in automobiles, in motion-picture houses, and in the comforts and necessities of life, as well as in the pleasures of life generally.

"But there is also a very solid investment side. In 1919 there were around eighteen million individual savings accounts to a total of thirteen billion dollars. Last year there were more than fifty-three million accounts, holding in them twenty-eight and a half billion dollars.

"In the building and loan associations, representing for the most part ownership of homes of moderate price, there were in 1919 somewhat over four million members, but in 1927 there were more than eleven million members. The wealthy do not bother with savings funds or building societies.

"The life insurance policy-holders increased from more than thirteen million in 1919 to more than twenty-seven million in 1927. The stocks and bonds of the large corporations are now so widely distributed that probably as many people have them as have automobiles."

The Moral and Religious Basis of Prohibition

II. But we will not overlook or fail to emphasize the moral and religious basis on which the whole movement of prohibition had its origin and on which it finds its greatest and most enduring support. Let them call us "emotional

fanatics" if they like; let them dub us "political parsons" if they wish. It is better to be a political parson than a political plunderer. Every thoughtful student of this great reform knows that it had its beginning and for many years had almost its only support and promotion by the prophets of God, who cried aloud and spared not against the evil, the blight and the curse of the beverage liquor traffic mainly on moral and religious grounds. The captains of commerce and industry ultimately came to see the industrial and economic waste and havoc wrought by liquor and the industrial and economic saving and benefits of prohibition. They came to see this mainly as a result of prohibition itself as it gradually made its way and gave actual demonstration. Preachers and churches saw these things long before the leaders in the field of industry and commerce.

Preachers and churches did not fail to point out the facts, but as the soul is more than the body, as life is more than raiment, as the spiritual surpasses the material, we naturally and properly put the emphasis on the moral and religious. We welcome, court and rejoice in the support of industry in this great warfare for humanity and we strike hands and lock shields with industry for the continuation and completion of the war. But we will not surrender our greatest stronghold. We know that no man has the moral right to indulge in that which wrecks his body and destroys his soul; that which makes him a menace to society and a common nuisance to his neighbors; that which robs his wife and children and throws them as pitiable objects upon the charity of the public. We know and will constantly affirm that the State has no moral right to enter into league with crime and robbery and bloodshed; that every dollar ever taken by the State as a license for the sale of beverage liquor was blood money; that the State could as consistently sell the virtue of womenhood as it can license a traffic which corrupts men and debauches women. No, we will not forget or fail to recall the moral or religious principles involved and to rely upon the moral and religious convictions of an intelligent and patriotic citizenry as the very foundation stone of the whole prohibition movement as of all other righteous legislation.

The Anti-Saloon League, as a body, is frankly religious, frankly Christian. We believe the Bible and believe in the Bible as the only safe and reliable guide in all of the principles which govern us or should govern us in all the affairs of life. Some of us are glad to come from the "Bible belt," as the South has often been called by the lawless champions of liquor. We accept the epithet and count it a badge of honor.

We have recently had a sorry spectacle in Congress, a sacrilegious performance, a member of the Congress of the United States attempting to quote the Word of God in justification of the beverage liquor traffic. Every intelligent student of the Bible knows that in all its sacred pages there is not one line nor one syllable that commends or encourages the use of intoxicating liquor as a beverage. On the other hand, the Word of God thunders against the evil, it appeals, persuades and entreats men to avoid the evil and not be caught in the whirlpool of death and destruction which liquor has always and everywhere placed before men. Let our friend in Congress, and any others who are so dead to a sense of propriety and right as to undertake to use God's Word in support of the diabolical traffic in strong drink, read some of the following passages: Gen. 9:18-27, Prov. 23:19-23, 29-35, Prov. 31:1-9, Isa. 28:1-9, Heb. 2:1-7, Isa. 5:8-24. Let us hope that some of our worthy Senators and Congressmen who believe in and stand for the right may answer this death rattle of the liquor traffic by reading into the Congressional Record some of these passages.

While we shall not forget the material benefits of prohibition we must never fail, as a part of the strategy of our campaign, to keep our people grounded in the moral and religious principles and truths which underlie as its bed-rock

foundation the whole super-structure of this legislation which is the joy of our people and the wonder and envy of the world.

Strengthen Our Organization—Keep Up Our Morale

III. We must strengthen our organization and keep up our fighting spirit. The Anti-Saloon League is the most hated and most feared organization in America. The wets are more and more amazed at the strength of our organization. In a pitying and patronizing way they announce that we are dead or at least moribund; the wish is father to the thought; they know that we are very much alive. They fail to realize that our strength is the strength of a movement more than the strength of an organization as such. The name "Anti-Saloon League" stands for the moral and religious conviction, for the political integrity and righteousness, for the industrial and commercial sanity and sagacity of the American people. That gives us our strength. The wets have always had more organization and better organization than we, and more money. No doubt they wonder at their constant and increasing defeats. They fail to see that this is a movement more than an organization, a movement bottomed on patriotic convictions and reaching forth for the highest human goods.

But we do have an organization and this is not the time to allow it to weaken anywhere. On the contrary, we must strengthen it at every point. A well-organized, happily-co-operating, gloriously militant body from the smallest State League to the National League is the imperative demand of this hour. This is no time for disarmament or for mustering out of troops in this war. We can not have a strong National League unless we have strong State Leagues. If we are wise, we will give the State Leagues a larger autonomy and a larger share of responsibility that they may function more effectively, each in its own sphere, and may give larger support, both moral and financial, to the National League; and then we will see to it that the State Leagues give this moral and financial support to the National League in such abounding measure that it can function and fight as never before. At every point in every way we must strengthen the Anti-Saloon League of America and all of its constituent leagues.

We must also keep up the morale, the spirit of endurance and of fight, in all our forces, in our whole constituency. Why should we not have the fighting spirit? If there has ever been a time or a condition to arouse the spirit of patriotism and loyalty in America, that time and condition are here now. When the constitution is flouted, when law is defied, when we have organized conspiracy and rebellion, surely this is the time that calls for patriots. When hoodlums in Boston tear down and destroy posters calling for recruits in the coast guards because, forsooth, a company of the coast guards has done its duty in protecting American shores from smuggling; when the coast guard and other officers both of the United States and of the States are openly and roundly berated in the halls of United States Congress for doing their duty, when officers are charged with cold-blooded murder, because in the discharge of their official duties they have to defend themselves against thugs and bandits—when such things as these happen, surely it ought not to be hard for patriots to feel something of the real fighting spirit.

Duty of States Both to Themselves and to the Federal Government

IV. As a part of our strategy we must call upon the states as individual units to do their duty, to uphold their dignity and sovereignty and to demand respect for their own laws, as well as to recognize that they owe a debt to the Union, which was created by them and of which each is a part.

There is no excuse, there can be no excuse, for failure or laxity in the enforcement of state prohibition enacted before national prohibition came. Thirty-three states had banished liquor, either by popular vote or legislative enact-

ment before the Eighteenth Amendment went into effect. In some measure, perhaps in large measure in some instances, these states assumed the attitude of "Let George do it," when the Federal government outlawed the traffic. This was largely the result of the same general feeling which we all had, that the fight was over. But the states must be reminded that they are discredited and their laws and institutions endangered when any one of their laws is defied; the states must be called back to honest, faithful, diligent and effective enforcement of their laws, all of them. If every State and county and precinct which was dry before national prohibition came will do its full duty, the task of enforcement for the Federal government will be comparatively easy.

All of the States, especially those which did not have State prohibition, must also be reminded that this government of ours is a union of States and that it is the duty of every State to support the Federal government and abide by, uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States. Failure so to do is in spirit secession and rebellion whether it be active or dormant. Let the states of the north and east which gave the flower of their manhood to put down and stamp out what they thought was rebellion in the sixties be not guilty of forming a whisky rebellion in the twentieth century against the greatest and most beneficial reform of all the centuries, a reform that has delivered us, white and black alike, from a bondage greater than that from which we were delivered by the suffering and bloodshed of the sixties.

One of the finest, clearest, strongest utterances on the duty of the States and their proper attitude toward the Federal government is the recent utterance of Governor Allen of Massachusetts. As quoted by the press Governor Allen says:

"The Federal constitution rules. The repeal of the state enforcement act would be an open invitation and an incentive to violate the law. It would breed and nourish lawlessness—lawlessness which spreads as a contagion to destroy all law. . . . So long as the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution is law, our duty is clear-cut and well defined. . . . As citizens of the United States and of Massachusetts, ours is the duty of observing the constitution and laws of the nation and the commonwealth. . . . Massachusetts has always been a stalwart supporter and defender of the Constitution of the United States. Massachusetts has always stood for law and order."

Commenting editorially on these fine words the "Nashville Banner" says:

"Regardless of the effect which the stand may have on Governor Allen's political fortunes he has performed a useful service. At a time when double-dealing, political cowardice, evasion and duplicity upon this question are so common upon the part of public men who are candidates for office the chief executive of Massachusetts has set an admirable example of the timeliness of courage and candor; and, whether he win or lose at the November polls, the exhibition of moral courage which he has made will elevate his stature for all times in his State."

We must, we will appeal to the states to do their duty, both by their own law and toward the Union; we must and we will appeal to all of our citizens to support both state and federal government and to recognize that when it speaks the Constitution of the United States with its supporting legislation is the supreme law of the land; that it demands and will receive loyal and hearty devotion and support from every true American.

Keep Prohibition Above Party Politics and Partisan Contention

V. We must and we will, as much as in us lies, keep prohibition out of and above party politics and partisan contention. The Anti-Saloon League has always been, is and will continue to be a nonpartisan or omnipartisan organiza-

tion. Its one qualification for co-operative effort is, "Are you opposed to the beverage liquor traffic and do you believe in its suppression by the government by regular legal processes and through regular constituted authority? If you believe this and wish to join with us, welcome." We can join hands in doing this without in any way affecting our party loyalty or our support of our party candidates—unless our party and our candidates shall become so blind or so venal as to espouse the cause of liquor. In that case, hear it all ye politicians and party leaders, in that case here is a moral issue greater than party questions and we will scratch.

The Anti-Saloon League has not only been non-partisan or omnipartisan in its organization; it has fought always to keep prohibition from becoming a party question.

It was not in any sense our fault that prohibition became the chief issue between the major political parties in the last national campaign. The responsibility for that was upon the nominee of one of the parties, who felt himself big enough to bully his party, to jump its platform and make his own, and on this basis go out to win the Presidency of the United States by the "sure vote" of a whole great section of the Union whose political solidarity could never be broken, combined with the vote of the Tammany-bred and Tammany-trained, liquor-soaked element in the metropolitan centers.

The result of that campaign is fairly well known, even to those who read the wet newspapers. The matter is referred to here only to emphasize the fact that we shall always do all we can to keep prohibition from becoming a party issue, but that if any party or candidate steps forward as the champion of liquor and on that ground asks the support of the American people, the drama, perhaps we should say the tragedy, of 1928, will be re-enacted on an even larger scale. I predict that never again will any party allow itself to be so bullied and so led to certain political slaughter by a candidate and that hereafter both of the major parties will frankly espouse prohibition as a dearly bought and highly fruitful American achievement and that no candidate for the presidency will ever have serious consideration by either of the major parties who is known to be in favor of the repeal or the weakening of the Eighteenth Amendment or its supporting legislation. No political party can continue to live in America, much less win in a national election, if it is either wet or manned and controlled by wets. Those who do not see this are blind and can not see afar off.

Give Hearty Support to the President

VI. One other point in the strategy here suggested. We must, we will, give whole-hearted support to our President and all others charged with responsibility for the enforcement of law who are faithfully doing their duty.

It is not necessary for me here to quote any one of the great utterances which have emanated from the White House in the last ten and one-half months. They are matters of common knowledge. They constitute the greatest series of utterances as to the fundamental principles of the American government and as to the imperative necessity for law enforcement and law observance which have ever come from any President.

A remarkable man is this man in the White House. We long hoped and prayed and worked that we might have as our Chief Executive a man who would take seriously this matter of law enforcement and law observance, not simply the enforcement and observance of the prohibition law but of all laws. We may be deeply and devoutly thankful that we now have such a man. The President is a sincere, simple-hearted, straight-forward man, and Christian. He is a doer of great deeds. He thinks in world terms and moves on the plane of human welfare. He knows no better than to believe that the shortest distance between

two points is a straight line. When he wants to get to any given point he moves down that straight line. He is as sincerely devoted to this cause as we are. He has on him tremendous tasks and burdens and responsibilities. He ought not to be nagged and prodded either by private citizens or public officials, not even by members of Congress, wet or dry, whatever their motive. It has sometimes appeared a bit strange and incongruous, a thing with a touch of grim humor, to have a dry President who is whole-heartedly devoted to this cause and who is exercising all the powers and influence of his high office for effective enforcement, criticized and his program made more difficult by senators who supported for President a man openly and notoriously committed to the repeal of our whole prohibition order.

Let others do as they may, or as they will, as for us we will give hearty and whole-souled support to this man in the White House and we will not indulge in that popular form of American indoor sport of harassing the President. The whole situation as to prohibition and prohibition enforcement has been changed and is being changed more and more by the example and influence and straight-forward course of the President. Three years more, shall I say seven years more, of the present order of things at the White House and the whole country will be dry, both in law and in fact. The man in the White House will go down in history as a great doer of great deeds. To such a President we can, we must, we will give patriotic support, and every day we will give humble and devout thanks to Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, for the son of an Iowa blacksmith who was named Hoover and who named his son Herbert.

THURSDAY MORNING SESSION

INFORM THE TEACHER

THOMAS W. GALES

Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of North Dakota

Did you ever eat a chicken dinner, made ready by the wife of a Norwegian Lutheran minister, and served in the inimitable manner, which to them seems second nature? Nearly one year ago, I sat down to such a feast, and you will not need to be told that I did full justice to the occasion.

At the table also sat the young teacher of the district school, and during the meal, our conversation naturally turned on the subject I had been discussing a few minutes before, in the pulpit.

"Do you teach the effects of alcohol and intemperance in your class work," I asked, turning to the teacher, and she blushed as she replied, "Not much!"

"Why not?" I enquired, and she replied, "There are several reasons, but the most important one is, I know so little about it." Then she went on, "I was only twelve years old when national prohibition went into effect. I have always lived in North Dakota, where we did not have the legalized liquor business, and I have never seen the harm you spoke of this morning. I know so little about it, I cannot teach what I do not know."

Then with a sudden inspiration she looked up and said, "Perhaps you can assist me to get some material that will help me do what I ought to do, in teaching the boys and girls the evils of drink and the benefits of prohibition."

That was the challenge, and I have not been able to get away from the task.

We have in North Dakota 8,000 public school teachers, and 175,000 pupils in the public schools. A majority of those teachers are like the young lady at that preacher's table, they simply do not know the effects of drink, and when wet propaganda tells them that prohibition has failed and conditions are now worse than before, they are helpless to deal with those statements.

One week after the above incident, I was speaking in the morning service at the First Congregational Church, Valley City, North Dakota, and President Allen of the Teacher Training College, came to me after the service and said, "I wish you could come to our chapel service and give that same talk to the students, in our summer term."

Shortly after this I went to Bismarck and had an interview with our State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Miss Bertha Palmer, and told her of the challenge that had come to me in these two incidents, and, with her approval, I made arrangements to visit the State Teacher Colleges, and give them an address on "Methods and Material for Teaching Temperance in the Schools."

The proposition met with the hearty co-operation of the presidents of the educational institutions and I was also given authority to have fifty dollars' worth of literature printed at the expense of the Department of Public Instruction, which was to be distributed at the time I gave the address.

On my trip back to Fargo, I spent my time thinking out the program, and finally decided to write to Dr. Cherrington, and tell him of the way that had opened to speak to over three thousand young student-teachers, and I asked him if the Department of Education of the Anti-Saloon League of America could help me in giving material that would help the young teachers in this educational program. I received his reply, which was soon followed by several large cases of literature. I had intended taking the literature with me, and distributing it at the colleges, but one lot they sent me weighed over 1,300 pounds, and I decided not to take it all in my grip.

To the supply sent from Westerville, I succeeded in getting money to add the little book "They Almost Had Me Fooled," and then I took three weeks of my own salary to get enough of the pamphlet, "Fundamental Facts for Patriots," and thus made up a package of 250 printed pages for every teacher who made the request for the material. Over three thousand packages have already been sent out, going into every school district in the state, and the requests are still coming in, almost every day, from teachers who have seen the packets already sent out.

There are several important elements of value in this program, not the least of which is the fact that three thousand school teachers are a considerable social power in every section of the state. They are also, in North Dakota, a voting strength that must be considered.

On June 27th, 1928, we had the first real test of the wet and dry vote in North Dakota in many years. The dry majority was less than 8,000, or in other words, the teachers of the state could have voted prohibition out of the North Dakota Constitution.

There are far more boys and girls attaining their majority in the state than held our forty-year-old dry law.

Some time ago I reached Finley, the county seat of Steel County, to speak in three Lutheran churches. The sheriff met me on my arrival, in fact, I have reason to believe he was looking for me. He immediately took me in charge, and drove me fifteen miles out in the country, through snow and mud, to speak at the morning service, back to Finley for dinner and then took me in the afternoon to another church and that evening in town I spoke to a crowded church. At all three services the sheriff was a leading man. It was a wonderful thing to see, and especially when I knew that he had made Steel County a very dangerous place for moonshiners, bootleggers and other law violators.

"Sheriff," I said, "what is the secret? We do not often find a man in your job taking such a leading position in religious and prohibition work. What is the answer?"

"When I was a boy," he replied, "I attended a school in Minnesota and our teacher was a temperance woman. She taught us the evils of alcoholic drink, and to never yield to the temptation to drink it. But the thing that made the greatest impression on me was the song she had us sing every day, yes, several times a day. It was the old temperance song, to the tune, "Maryland, My Maryland:"

"There's danger in the flowing bowl!
Touch not, taste not, handle not!
'Twill ruin body, ruin soul!
Touch not, taste not, handle not!
'Twill rob the pocket of its cash;
'Twill scourge thee with a cruel lash;
And all thy hopes of pleasure dash;
Touch not, taste not, handle not!"

Inform a child and you have done a wonderful thing. Inform a teacher and you have performed a miracle for you have touched scores, yes hundreds, of receptive lives.

EDUCATING YOUTH AGAINST ALCOHOL

FREDERICK W. SMITH
Superintendent, Christian Civic League of Maine

I don't know whether you realize just how little our young people know about prohibition nor how it came. If you had been dealing, as I have, with young people's groups you would be amazed at the irgnorance that these young people have. They are totally ignorant of the day into which they have been born and out of which we have come. You will be amazed at their reaction to prohibition. For the most part our information and our education has been aimed at the adult population of the country. The young people have been reading quite generally what the newspapers say. I have heard it said that 90 percent of the young men and women in college today are opposed to prohibition, or out of sympathy with it. I have been talking with boys and girls of high school and of the junior high school age and they are very definitely opposed to prohibition. A leadership conference was put on at a Y. M. C. A. camp with 175 boys from the state of Maine, associated for traning in leadership. I was astonished to find that the majority of these boys were absolutely out of sympathy with the prohibition question. After I talked with them for two hours, more than one came to me and said "Mr. Smith, we always thought that prohibition was an unwise thing because it was an invasion of personal liberty, but we understand now why everybody, any citizen or any county or any state or any nation, has the right to trespass upon the personal liberty of any other people who desire to trespass upon the rights of those among whom they live, and from now on we are going to fight for prohibition." I had a letter from one of them that said, "I thought prohibition was a good thing but I never realized haw bad the conditions used to be and I shall go out now to fight for it."

Up in Maine we have a rather peculiar situation. About 87 percent of our population never saw a saloon. They don't know the old conditions. We have to portray carefully and describe what the saloon was, what the saloon conditions were, and we have to portray in a striking and dramatic manner to these young people the actual conditions. I have had young men and women come to me at the close of my address and say " I had no comprehension at all what conditions were like. We have to fight this thing now."

The question is, how are we going to get at these young people? We have been dealing with them in this way. It happened that while out in Missouri the Epworth League crowds there held an institute. They asked me to fill in for one of their speakers. I spoke for them, on the first night and the second night, and they then insisted that I come to them for the other three nights. So for each night I talked upon prohibition and conditions in pre-prohibition days, conditions of today, and the outlook for the future, attempting to give them a vision of what can be accomplished in the days to come, not minimizing the evils and weaknesses of the present day nor attempting to disguise the fact that conditions are not as good as we had hoped to see them.

I spoke in church and Epworth League and Christian Endeavor services. The Christian Endeavor Society at the first annual convention after I reached Maine, elected me as Citizenship Superintendent. We have on our lists in the state of Maine 500 leaders in 500 groups throughout the state, and are putting in the hands of these group leaders little posters, the size of a postal card some times, to be put on their church bulletin board. We tell them that the C. E. Society has put out a handbook on constructive citizenship; another one on prohibition; only 25 cents a copy, and that they ought to have study classes on these books. We call their attention to the citizenship courses of the Epworth League, and Harry Warner's book, and then we set them definitely to work. When the course is ended we want them to go out with a pledge card and ask the boys and girls with whom they are associated to sign a pledge promising to abstain from the use of alcohol and to uphold the constitution of the United States and to do all they can for the progress of the ideal in which we believe. As a result of this, those young people turned into my office 1,500 signed pledge cards of that type. Whenever the county organizations of Christian Endeavor and Epworth League and other societies are meeting we offer them our literature, put up a table, and we are always wecome to a place on the program. We attempt to present just the facts that they feel the need of, and these facts must be presented in the language they can understand.

THE PREPARATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATURE

Boyd P. Doty, Westerville, Ohio

In the very nature of the case with a strict time limit this paper must be a mere, matter-of-fact analysis of a problem as old as the League itself—a problem upon which every League man has certain definite ideas growing out of his own experience; so that when I speak to you as a group I am sure that nearly everything I say will be old to some of you.

Literature viewed from the League standpoint has been, and must ever be, one of the most potent factors in the realization of its aims and purposes. That probably is the principal excuse for having this paper this morning.

Public opinion in a democracy is of the first importance. If we lived in a monarchy where the supreme authority was vested in one individual it would make little difference what you or I thought about any question of public policy. But in a democracy public opinion is everything.

For the purposes we have in mind we divide our topic into the heads of Material, Its Sources, How to Prepare It, and the Organization for and Strategy of Distribution.

In the first place we begin with the raw material, which is rich, varied and plentiful. We must take the uncut diamonds, acres of them at our feet, and cut and polish them for use. Among the special sources of information are, first,

governmental department records, such as Census reports, reports of the Treasury Department, Department of Commerce, Justice Department, United States Supreme Court decisions, Congressional Record.

I wonder if all fully realize the great mine of information available in these reports. They seem to be dry and uninteresting, but they are packed full of the very kind of information that we need most to put backbone into our literature. Here are gathered reports which deal with items of nation-wide interest and deal with them from a nation-wide point of view, and, as I shall say more in detail later, this is of particular importance. The census reports furnish us with "vital" statistics of the most vital character. Our treasury department reports, including the prohibition unit as well as information regarding revenue, disclose the financial operations of a nation which are an index to the cumulative results of an extended national policy. From the justice department we may get information regarding the whole problem of crime and the enforcement of law. From the United States Supreme Court decisions we shall get the standards by which all legislation, past, present and future, has been and will be measured. It is the final authority on all constitutional legal matters and is a complete argument settler. The Department of Commerce furnishes us from time to time valuable statistics regarding our financial progress which, for purposes of comparison, can hardly be excelled.

Coming now to unofficial sources, I mention with special emphasis the "Christian Science Monitor" and the" United States Daily," and in passing, I wish to say that I believe that every Anti-Saloon League office, national, state and district, should have both of these papers coming daily to their offices, for they will find more reliable material in these publications than in any other publication, not excepting church and temperance publications. Then there are the financial reports, as for example commercial and savings bank records, building and loan association reports, the records of life insurance companies, convention and resolution records of bar, medical and hospital associations, welfare society, police and prison statistics. We can do nothing more than merely mention these in passing.

Then there are the more general sources such as public addresses reported in newspapers, magazine articles, newspaper items, press agency statements, either on temperance or on other than prohibition themes. Many of the most valuable are those which have no reference whatever to the prohibition problem.

A wheat field of waving, golden grain without a modern harvester, a thresher without trucks and wagons would have only potential value. A mountain of coal, black diamonds if you please, without men and machinery to take it out, screen it for its several uses and a railroad or some other means of transportation, would be quite useless. So, too, will be the truth about prohibition. The principles or philosophy underlying it, its origin and history, its application and results will be of little value to its maintenance and success unless we have some one who knows where to find these truths, who knows their relative value and how to get them, reveal them and convey them to a waiting, wavering, doubting, uncertain, yet earnest public mind.

There must be, therefore, some organization, some system and method of gathering, for preparing and distributing this information to the public which is longing to find solid ground upon which to rest its convictions.

Because of the limitations of my time I shall assume that we have common knowledge of many fundamentals, or as judges would say, we must take "judicial notice" of them and devote our few remaining minutes to a few matters upon which we may not agree and which cannot be classified as "res adjudicata."

First, what is the field to be reached? Again we must resort to mere outline without a studied attempt to place them in their absolutely logical order.

Certainly we must have in mind both the immediate and the long-time effect of our education through literature. We must deal with the problems of the immediate present but we must never forget that literature must be used as an educational factor to build a public sentiment for tomorrow, next month, next year, the next decade and the next generation. It would appear that we should reach, first, those individuals or agencies which have within their power the reaching of the largest possible groups of our population, who by reason of the influence of their positions can deal most effectively with the facts which we furnish them. Therefore, unpleasant and well-nigh impossible as the task may seem to be, our literature should not only be prepared with the newspapers in mind, but our distribution should see to it that we reach the newspapers, the editors and the owners, whether of the metropolitan paper or the county seat daily, or the small town weekly. This may appear to be like attempting to use straws as battering rams against impregnable walls, but I have never been able to get away from the conviction that a reporter or a city editor is not entirely impervious to the shafts of truth hurled at him day after day, year in and year out.

A more promising field will be found among the church and Sunday school publications which will be able to multiply this literature not merely by the number of thousands of publications which they issue weekly or monthly, but by many times more than that because of the number of individuals per copy reached in the ordinary course of reading. I have in mind also the educational journals which have been quite negelcted, at least so far as the type of material adapted to them is concerned, a quite neglected field which nevertheless furnishes us with an opportunity to touch the minds of men who are dealing with the youth and who are directing the modern educational systems and teaching the present generation. I think it is more important that we should reach one minister than fifty or one hundred members of his congregation. It is of more importance to reach one college professor than it is to reach a whole freshman class. It is more important to win the support of a college or university president than it is to win half his faculty.

In the midst of all our groups that we are to reach we must not neglect our contacts with our editors and publishers and writers for our foreign newspapers, for that is the only contact we have with them, and as a League we have thus far neglected, except in isolated cases, all opportunities for winning the foreign groups in America for prohibition.

I can only say in passing that we must not forget the politicians, the office-holders, the lawyers, the doctors, the lecturers, the Y. W. C. A. and Y. M. C. A., but most of all we must recognize that in the libraries of America we have one of our greatest opportunities for centering our attention and at the expenditure of the smallest amount of money reach continuously the largest number of people.

Recognizing this fact, the World League Against Alcoholism, the Department of Education of the National League, the American Issue Publishing Company, co-operating with and contributing through the Intercollegiate Prohibition Association, in 1929 arranged for the placing of 175 pamphlets and leaflets and 47 volumes in 400 college and university libraries throughout the United States, or more than 18,000 pages of literature.

There are a dozen other matters which should very probably be included in a paper of this kind, but I have not time for more than the merest outline of one proposition. We have passed beyond the point of the local preparation of literature. We no longer have local option territory. We no longer have statewide prohibition. We are a dry nation. Whatever fact is of value in one part

of the country is of scarcely less value in every other part of the country; in fact is national in importance just the same as prohibition is national in its scope. The enemy recognizes this fact and is seeking through national agencies to reach all parts of the nation regarding every actual or purported result of prohibition. Therefore, any agency for the collection of data or for preparation of literature for public consumption must be national in its scope, must be national in its purpose, it must be nation-wide in every conception of its organization and activity. It should represent not only the Anti-Saloon League, but all the coordinated, allied temperance organizations of America who should be called upon to support it as a national institution. Such an agency would be able to command sufficient resources to enable it to put a specialist in every department of investigation and preparation of material so that from this central agency there would come the most authentic data available and it would be able to produce the highest possible type of literature measured from the viewpoint of the literary artist, the advertising specialist, or from the psychological viewpoint of the student of the public mind. Such an institution should accumulate data through its branch agencies in every part of the United States and have ready-made an answer to meet every possible inquiry from every part of the country, should have a systematic scheme of gathering advance information, forestalling the attacks that might be made or are likely to be made and should have the answers prepared in advance to release by regular letter bulletins, and in cases of emergency by wire bulletins, to every one of the allied, supporting constituencies so that simultaneously and immediately any superintendent, W. C. T. U. president or any other interested individual could get this information and spring the desired come-back and knock in the head any untruth or misrepresentation of truth or half truth. Such a bureau should also regularly forestall wet propaganda in weekly and at certain times daily bulletins to all the allied agencies, church and Sunday school papers and printing houses, and educational as well as religious publications.

It may be objected that now I am getting over into the domain of current publicity. I think not. I am talking about a research agency that would be able to make available instantly to all publicity agencies of the Anti-Saloon League, in each state, and to leaders of all temperance organizations, data which can be immediately utilized when it is most needed.

I have in mind that a central publishing plant, like the American Issue Publishing Company, should have this data daily coming from its presses in these bulletin forms and in type standing ready to respond to telegraphic orders from any part of the country.

You will readily see that this proposal carried out to its logical limit would involve the necessity of state and local co-operation in this distribution through recognized literature channels. We should also be able to produce through such an agency the highest grade of material for use in school publications, not propaganda but the purest kind of scientific fact and data that can be confidently used by text book writers for both school and college use. A scanning of modern text books will show how great is the need for a more up-to-date presentation of the use of liquor as a medicine as well as a beverage. The effects, physiological and hygienic, economic and social should be regularly and effectively presented. We should have literature to meet every type of individual, every state, every occasion that may arise. Now, this can be done only by a centralized agency supported loyally and generously by the Anti-Saloon League and by the other temperance organizations of the country, if we expect to cope with the present complex situation.

How much would it cost? We are hearing a great deal about education as it is emphasized in state and national activities. Certainly we ought to be able

to set aside for so important a phase of our work, our own words being the witnesses against us, at least 25 per cent of our total budgets for this purely educational material in the form of literature, for this fundamentally educational work directly done and in no way related to the raising of money, securing of political action or any of the other legitimate or absolutely necessary activities of the state and national leagues. I have a feeling that if we were to put on a nation-wide, systematic program of producing and distributing literature upon this or some similar basis we would be able to enlist this necessary financial support for these exclusively educational projects. Have we the real faith in the efficacy of such a program? If so, let us show it by our works.

We have a great asset for this purpose in our nationally owned and controlled printing plant that is now idle too much of the time because we have not been awake to the possibilities in the field about which I have been speaking. Literature now printed by the thousands should be circulated by the millions and could thus be circulated at an incomparably lower cost than is possible now with our restricted output. Put your presses to work on a double shift basis and flood your people with literature. As Neal Dow said, "Sow the states knee deep in literature" and you will see such a transformation in the oncoming generation that even the most optimistic wet would throw up his hands in despair. Give the people of the United States the facts and they will not dodge them nor their responsibility in respect to them and we shall soon have a drier America.

THE CHURCH PRESS AND PROHIBITION

WILLIAM H. PHELPS
Editor, Michigan Christian Advocate

The religious press is the little brother when compared with the daily press, the big brother, but the tasks of the little brother are in an inverse ratio to size. He has his own work to do and he also has to overcome some of the results of that portion of the daily press which does not fight fair.

By iteration and reiteration, an unfriendly press or thoughtless press has established a creed of fourteen points with the unthinking masses and the prejudiced classes. By the psychology of continual repetition, regardless of what element of truth or untruth may predominate, these fourteen things have been written deep in the minds of many. It matters not how many times nor how well they have been answered. They live on and on, for misrepresentation also seems to be immortal. These fourteen points are:

1. Prohibition was put over during the war in the absence of the soldiers.
2. It was put over by a bunch of nuts and fanatics.
3. It is kept on the statute books by phenomenal lobbying and fabulous expenditure.
4. Most of the drys are hypocrites.
5. The expense of prohibition enforcement is ruinous.
6. More liquor is consumed than in the good old wet days of the saloon.
7. There is more drinking among youth.
8. Enforcement is doomed to eventual failure; if eventually, why not quit now?
9. We are missing the marvelous substitutes for prohibition.
10. There is a ruthless shooting of innocents.
11. Prohibition is the cause of the crime wave.
12. Booleg whisky is poisonous, while the "good old whisky" hurt no one.
13. There is a terrible persecution of men and women for having a pint of liquor on the person.
14. If about five men should die the prohibition laws would soon be changed.

The same psychology that has set the world to smoking cigarettes has operated to write these fourteen points in large letters.

The religious press finds itself facing the staggering task of meeting these fourteen spectres in the arena of Public Opinion, but having only about one-tenth of the hearing of the public press.

Yet this one-tenth contains a host of leaders in the state, community and nation, and the opportunity of the religious press is far, far in advance of its circulation.

In general it is the business of the religious press to major on the truth.

We must find out the facts. Two of us editors made a trip down the river, visited the export docks, and saw the booze traffic on the river when it was in full blast.

We must admit the truth, even when it hurts. While one speaker was boasting that there were no blind pigs in Detroit we were making desperate efforts to close three blind pigs, all of them within 99 steps of the office of our National President in Detroit. We closed them by facing the facts, not shutting our eyes to them.

We must interpret the facts. When we compare the old days with the new we have a better angle. In the good old wet days I lived in a Michigan city of twelve thousand people and 42 saloons. I saw more drunks in ten days in that small city than I have seen in Detroit in ten years, and I work on the street made famous by gamblers and bootleggers.

We must defend the men who tell the truth, for they are being constantly misrepresented before the public.

We must insist in season and out that the saloon is a moral wrong regardless of statistics or theories.

Whatever the law may finally be we must insist that the buyer is the arch-criminal against society and public opinion must convict him whether or not the law makes him a criminal.

We maintain that law-breaking is not a joke and not to be made a subject of jokes any more than spitting at the American flag is a matter for men to laugh about.

We can preach the good old-fashioned doctrine of keeping sweet ourselves and pulling together. Some wet strategist seems determined to create dissention in our ranks as though that were the last desperate hope of the wets.

We must breathe optimism. Faith in God and faith in folks, will not let us do anything else.

THE SUPREME NEED

R. N. Holsaple

Superintendent Michigan Anti-Saloon League

The purpose of the Eighteenth Amendment is to stop the beverage alcohol traffic and to prevent the use of alcohol as a beverage. Laws have been enacted for the purpose of bringing about the desired result and in spite of their frequent violation and the difficulties attending their enforcement, these laws have already accomplished more than their most enthusiastic supporters had reason to expect within the brief period of ten years. More and more these laws will become better enforced and gradually the people will appreciate their value and the necessity for obedience to the same.

Beyond doubt, there is need of certain minor changes which will strengthen the law and it will be generally admitted that there is grave need for the ap-

pointment of an increasing number of government agents to enforce the law whose integrity and loyalty are beyond question.

The supreme need in connection with prohibition, however, does not lie along the line of enforcement of the law by the police power of the state or nation. The enforcement of law as such is not fundamental. It is at best but a temporary makeshift. What is fundamental is that we should ultimately have a generation of citizens so proud of their citizenship, so loyal to the institutions of government, so true to the ideals and traditions of the republic that each individual will obey laws regularly made and provided and even unwritten principles laid down for the conduct of society not merely because they are written on the statute books nor because a policeman may be watching at the corner but because these written laws and unwritten principles represent the combined thought of the entire community and nation as to what is best for the people as a whole. This and this only is fundamental.

Our people must be taught the supreme value of law and the imperative need of obedience to the same.

In the brief period allotted to me today, however, I wish to consider another very vital phase of the question and one which I believe indicates the supreme need in the prohibition movement today.

It is not sufficient that we should obey the laws of the land but it is necessary that the laws of the body should be properly recognized and scrupulously obeyed if mankind is to attain to the greatest degree of physical, mental and spiritual development. The only permanent solution of the prohibition question is moral and educational. Our people must be taught not only to refrain from the sale of alcohol but what is more important to abstain from its use not because they fear the law or the officials of the law but rather because they know what alcohol is and what it will do to those who use it.

There is too much ignorance concerning the nature and effect of this poison. Not enough emphasis is given to the harm of strong drink either in our public schools or in our general reading and ordinary conversation. Many of our people seem to think that alcohol is a rather harmless agent which may be indulged in, particularly if one does not become intoxicated. They must be told the facts that alcohol is a filthy and dangerous toxic poison, the waste product of a living organism called the yeast plant or ferment germ. They must be told that the tragic fact of science is that the heaviest blows of drink fall with crushing weight upon those who come after the drinker, thereby fulfilling the scriptures that the "sins of the fathers are visited upon the children to the second, third and fourth generation." Wherever alcohol is used it leaves in its wake a train of human degeneracy. Degeneracy is its most typical and outstanding effect, and the facts concerning the nature and effect of alcohol are not going to be fastened upon this or any other generation by the exercise of the policeman's club nor through punishment for violating prohibition laws. The desired result can only be accomplished through continued and persistent education.

While we are all naturally interested in the enforcement of the law and believe that prohibition can be made reasonably successful through the power of the law alone, our chief task is to deal with the mental processes of the people and direct them along right lines. The youth of today must be told the truth about the harmful effects of drink. They must be shown that this age has no place for the user of alcohol, that the person whose breath constantly smells of alcohol will be left at the stake in the race of life. Our appeal must be for sobriety and a life pledged to total abstinence.

The Michigan Anti-Saloon League has been majoring for the past two years on the educational phase of this important question. A large number of interesting demonstrations have been made in the various cities of the state. A

vacant store building is rented and its walls covered with scientific temperance charts and posters. A motion picture film prepared by Dr. John Harvey Kellogg of Battle Creek, showing the effect of alcohol on the human body and the human race is shown each night, great quantities of literature distributed free and addresses given in the various schools of the city. The reaction of this demonstration is the most interesting and gratifying thing that has ever come to our attention. The average attendance at these demonstrations in the city having the smallest attendance was 175 per day while the city having the largest attendance averaged 375. Ninety-five per cent of all those visiting our demonstration are men; 50 per cent are wet and say they do not go to church and would not have heard anything authoritative on this subject had they not visited our room. No literature is wasted. Every bit of literature given away is carefully preserved and carried away by each person receiving the same.

We are now ready to launch a new and yet old movement which will be of still greater benefit to those participating in it. Beginning 1930 the Michigan Anti-Saloon League will start conducting gospel temperance revivals. These will be in the nature of a religious total abstinence crusade. The pastors and churches of a county will co-operate and we will hold a temperance meeting every night in the week in a central church taking up for consideration a different phase of the prohibition question each night, and each address will close with a religious appeal for total abstinence and the signing of the total abstinence pledge.

There is need for pledging the youth of the nation and the older ones alike to a life of abstinence from the use of intoxicating liquor. If we will do this faithfully, we will soon have a generation that will realize the truth of the saying of the wise man of so long ago that no matter how good the wine looks, how beautiful its color or how nicely it moves in the cup, that "at the last it biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder."

OUR WORK IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Roy McCullough

Secretary, Intercollegiate Prohibition Association

I do not share the opinion of those people who write for the magazines, that the college crowd is drinking more and making bigger fools of themselves than we did. I believe that we have just as fine young people, capable of rising to as great ideals and able to do it on the moment, as any generation. I believe that when they know the facts of this thing as you know them, and are given an opportunity, they will take the leadership of this problem of prohibition, not to mention the problem of alcoholic beverages; they will take the leadership of that problem from your hands when you see fit to turn it over to them and with one or two great master strokes show the world that American youth can and will lead into the freer life which Jesus came to reveal to us.

I want to give you a report of what we are trying to do. Our secretaries spent from one to four or five days in 347 colleges last year, meeting classes, leading forums and discussions, developing committee organizations for more effective education in order that the popular fallacies with reference to this problem might be eliminated. We developed studies in prohibition both by students and faculty members; promoted debates and contests of various kinds. We worked with church and young people's groups in connection with the colleges. Some of our most valuable contacts and most effective work came through fraternities. As an integral part of the

social life of practically every college in America, one type of fraternity or another, to the extent of several hundred, found our secretaries living with them, at every possible opportunity going into this thing and opening the way for this great moral reform. We have used the "knowledge attitude" tests to find just how little we know about this thing and at what points we are mistaken. By getting several thousand of these tests at widely separated points and from various types of colleges, we are able to adapt our program and to develop new programs to meet the needs whether educational or otherwise. Eight major student conferences in America were participated in by our leaders; probably 700 colleges had representatives at those conferences. An experiment was carried on this fall in one of our great universities to develop if possible a scientific approach to all questions, in which we were discovering a new technique for developing an impartial opinion and attitude on this problem among college men and women.

Our work is world-wide; we have been in cooperation with student anti-alcohol agencies in 21 other countries. Reliable facts and information are supplied to them about American prohibition. If there is any point at which the college men and women of today need help, it is at that very point. One of our secretaries found about one hundred students from other lands at Johns Hopkins University and discovered, to his surprise, that America is as wet as Baltimore. At Baltimore we found that West of the Alleghanies did not count when it came to America being wet. In a state narcotized by this wet opinion they think the whole country is as wet as they are. These foreign students in that great university and in that city had taken that attitude. It took an hour and a half for our secretary to demonstrate that they were wrong.

We have an official publication, the "International Student" which goes to all college presidents, to all college libraries, 8,600 professors in 800 colleges, foreign students in the American colleges, key students and committees, 1,500 students and leaders in 56 other countries, and a large majority of the college leaders of America.

Now some cold figures as to the work we did last year. Our record is, 347 colleges visited; 317 colleges had forums and other discussion groups; our secretaries came in personal contact with 92,601 students; 300 college committees are working on the problem of education for prohibition; 110 fraternities used Irving Fisher's "Prohibition at Its Worst;" 424 college classes were held for prohibition discussions and lectures, which were attended by 16,200 persons; 52 fraternities carried on forum discussions, and 135 other meetings were held; 5,140 "knowledge attitude" tests were held. Most important of all, 400 sets of valuable books on scientific and historical phases of the alcohol problem, valued at $100 each, are being placed in college and university libraries, as source material.

In closing I want to repeat a phrase by Felix Adler, "All the great ideals are pang-born." We stand ready, in the I. P. A., to suffer the pangs for the birth of great ideals in the minds and hearts of the students of America.

WET PROPAGANDA

O. G. Christgau

Assistant to the General Superintendent, Anti-Saloon League of America

Liquor propaganda covers America like a nation-wide wet blanket. Every library is damp, every postoffice is dripping, and every newsstand is drenched with printed matter unfavorable to prohibition. If prohibition were not inherently right, fundamentally sound, and essentially successful, it could not stand

up for forty-eight hours against the tidal wave of wet propaganda beating against the Eighteenth Amendment.

The largest stream of printed wet propaganda flows from the presses of large city newspapers. Before I came here from Washington my doctor advised me not to talk on wet propaganda. When I asked him why he said, "How do you expect to get rid of the rheumatism in your leg if you keep stepping on wet newspapers all the time." It is not my purpose to step on or criticize the wet newspapers, particularly the departments that have to do with the gathering and distribution of the news. At previous League conventions here in Detroit, and at this convention, we have found the reporters and news editors most courteous, industrious and fair in connection with gathering, reporting and editing our convention news. The Consolidated Press, the Associated Press, and the United Press, and the International News Service throughout the country have been uniformly fair and impartial in their treatment of Anti-Saloon League news.

Apparent discriminations are frequently caused by the nature of the thing called news and also by the greater activity and resources of the wets in utilizing news distributing agencies for their purposes. Real news does not hurt prohibition. If it is true and unfavorable, the news is deplorable but not objectionable. Such news helps remedy faults revealed.

Wet editorials, often deliberately deceptive, are not particularly harmful to prohibition. Most people read them and laugh because they so frequently vary so much from the common observations of their readers. People will not cut off their increased prohibition prosperity and security after reading a preposterous wet editorial any more than they will cut off their chins after reading "Andy Gump." However, the editors and publishers of the majority of the big city papers read by millions every morning and every night attack prohibition with every trick known to journalism. With headlines, news columns, cartoons, illustrations, special articles, wise cracks and jokes, they deliberately endeavor daily to influence public opinion against prohibition.

In "World's Work" for October, Will Irwin gave this formula for propaganda:

"Present the truth, and if you wish to be specially conscientious, nothing but the truth. But avoid the whole truth, printing all the derogatory side of any episode involving the enemy. Since men and human institutions are imperfect almost any man or any institution can be made to appear a devil simply by massing invidious details leaving out the rest. This process illustrates the wide difference between facts and truth."

Prohibition failures are made to expand in the spot light of notoriety, and prohibition virtues are made to shrink in the obscurity of the common place. Wet leaders, wet teachers, occasional wet preachers, though in the vast minority, are constantly quoted against the dry law. The small and disappearing number of wets in Congress have a regular system of making or extending wet remarks in order that they may be distributed by the press associations and printed as news. Wets write lengthy letters to dry Congressmen and the newspapers print them in full. In news reports and editorials sworn officials of the government are called sneaks, snoopers, spies. All these derogatory terms begin with the "s" sound and are in effect a hissing of the Constitution of the United States. This journalistic booing and hissing of officials is the most reprehensible example of poor sportsmanship in the American game of self-government. Governors, Congressmen and Senators, unrecorded in history as concerned by drink-caused deaths, protest eagerly and earnestly whenever an unfortunate casualty results in the course of upholding the laws of the nation. These wet

publicity protests are one of the highest obstructions to effective enforcement and one of the lowest forms of political profiteering in prejudices.

Three hundred million copies of magazines are printed and distributed in this country every month. Most of them contain material definitely detrimental to prohibition. Collier's with two million a week is positively and cleverly wet. Liberty, with two and a quarter million a week, is absolutely arrogantly and atrociously wet. But the most harmful magazine propaganda appears in the fiction of high-class magazines such as are read in your homes and mine. Every month they contain fiction tending to glorify and popularize the criminal cocktail. Don't under-estimate the power of fiction. It was fiction in the "Youth's Companion" that made a total abstainer out of me and my eight brothers in the midst of an adverse drinking environment. Today fiction in our best magazines is undoubtedly making drinkers out of many in an otherwise favorable prohibition environment. If we can imagine some satanic ambassador from some lower region negotiating for the control of America we can imagine him saying, "Let me write the nation's fiction and I care not who writes her laws."

Over one hundred million, mostly impressionable youth, attend the movies every week. If the editorial pen is mightier than the enforcement sword in the prohibition conflict, the movie is the mightiest of them all. Recently in a Washington movie I saw and heard a German burgher drink beer in Berlin. I saw and heard a cork pop from a champagne bottle in Paris and listened to the liquor gurgle into a glass. In at least half of the movies I have attended in the last three years I have viewed drinking scenes impressively suggesting that the use of intoxicants is adventurous, pleasant and popular. By those dramatic, realistic reminders and suggestions favorable to intoxicants many movies have become the psychological equivalent of the saloon. They undoubtedly renew the craving for drink in many who are trying to forget, and just as certainly create the desire in those who never drank before, sending both classes out of the movie into the alley in search of a bootlegger.

Wet propaganda is the greatest peril to dry laws, the greatest handicap to enforcement and the greatest influence against observance. To meet the flood we must use better methods and better equipment. Some of our League publicity is well prepared and excellently handled. But, a League official made an address that was first page stuff all over the country and refused to give his manuscript to the Associated Press and the United Press. A news movie photographer was ready with perfect light to make a picture that would have favorably impressed millions in the movies but was refused the four minutes it would have required. In Washington recently a resolution by a group of temperance committees was sent to the newspapers absolutely unidentified. At this convention, with two exceptions, every League man's advance copy was written single space. As a League we know our legislative beans and our enforcement onions and deliver them both by auto fresh, neatly packed and properly labeled, to the court house and to the capital, but when news eggs are laid we too often let them get stale, then deliver them dirty to the newspaper with a horse and buggy. Many of our League offices are well equipped for publicity work but I know one in which the early Colonial addressing machine is better adapted for use as a boat anchor and the duplicator should be in Ford's museum.

We can win against wet propaganda "if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature has placed in our power. Besides, sir, we shall not fight alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations who will raise up friends to fight our battle for us." The vast majority of the weekly and daily newspapers outside of the larger cities are dry; the church press is dry; the farm papers are dry; most of the women's magazines are editorially dry; a number of the most important weekly magazines are editorially

dry and quite a number of metropolitan newspapers are consistent supporters of the dry side.

Added to our own power and that of our friends is the inherent rightness of our cause. "Conquer we must when our cause is just," and "truth crushed to earth will rise again, while error, wounded, writhes in pain and dies among his worshippers."

CHURCH SCHOOL PUBLICATIONS AND THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

Rev. Jonathan B. Hawk, D.D., Cincinnati, Ohio
Associate Editor M. E. Church School Publications

The followers of Jehovah, whether they call themselves Protestants, Catholics, or Judaists, must hold to a high standrad of morality touching every phase of human life in its individual and social aspects. This attitude is inherent in the very nature of Judaism and Christianity. The prophets and leaders of religion in all generations of these two faiths have proclaimed a morality which affects life and is acceptable to God.

This moral ideal and standard must necessarily concern itself, therefore, with all sorts of social problems. Evils of any kind that hinder and prevent the attainment of high individual and social standards will be the subject of condemnation by the people of God. The church must always be "putting a stop to something."

The drink evil, as it is represented in the use of alcoholic beverages, is and always must be a moral issue. The church and the synagogue must, therefore, lead in educating men regarding the evils of intemperance and enable the people to see the dangers of alcoholic beverages, not only to them physically but to their economic and social welfare, and to their domestic peace. The very existence of the synagogue, the church, and the temple themselves depends upon the ability of religion to make itself felt in overthrowing evils of this character.

If organized religion through its leaders and agencies has no responsibility, or having that responsibility, is not able to cope with the forces of evil involved in great moral questions, then we are in a hopeless condition not only morally but religiously as well.

The authority of religion is gone, and it is vain to prate about such authority, if it cannot be utilized for the accomplishment of the ends of religion and morality. All this involves and implies on the part of the church and synagogue support of great moral movements. This will include not only widespread and continuous educational but the upholding of restrictive and prohibitory laws which help to make moral standards effective. The church cannot withdraw its aid from the laws prohibiting rape, incest, murder, arson, and treason. No more can it withdraw its support from such laws as prohibit the ravaging influences of a traffic in alcoholic beverages.

The temperance movement up to the present hour has been a religious movement. It has had its economic, political and social aspects, but at bottom it has been essentially a moral and religious movement. The churches, while slow sometimes to take certain specific action or stand on the liquor question, have, nevertheless, furnished the sinews of war, provided the personnel, and trained the conscience of those who have been the leaders in the reform.

The Sunday school as an integral part of the church has performed a signal service in the temperance movement. The educating of the conscience of the people on the evil effects of alcohol socially, economically and physically has been largely accomplished through the influence of the church school and the publications which it has fostered and regularly sent into the homes of the peo-

ple. Weekly about 20,000,000 copies of Sunday school literature are put into the hands of Sunday school folks, a majority of whom are under 21 years of age.

This work of education is not yet complete. Youth must be trained. We face a critical situation which must be handled by the adults of the present generation. Certainly there is a large body of men and women who occupy places of responsibility in the legislative, judicial and executive sections of our Federal and state governments who were properly trained on the great temperance issue. But there is growing up a constituency in our public and church schools who do not know the saloon and are uninformed as to the vicious and deadly character of the liquor traffic. The grip it had on social life, including politics, education and even religion in the days when it flourished, should be made common knowledge to the younger generation.

These children and young people will be casting the votes, and occupying the executive, legislative and judicial positions of the very near future. If we neglect to train them, we may expect indifference on the temperance question if not open and aggressive opposition.

Church school periodicals, whether for Primary and Junior boys and girls, young men and women of the Intermediate and Senior ages, or for adults, should carry regularly carefully prepared material calculated to enlighten the mind, sensitize the conscience, and stir the emotional reactions which are indispensable in any moral issue if action is to be obtained.

The value of this literature is made apparent by the simple statement that the temperance lesson so designated by the International Lesson Committee, has been given a place in every cycle of Sunday school lessons since 1881. That is for 49 years. In the six-year cycle ending in 1931 temperance is strongly emphasized: Three designated temperance lessons appear in 1926, three in 1927, two in 1928, four in 1929, and there will be three in 1931. Four are scheduled for 1933, which is the first year of a new cycle of lessons.

In addition to the temperance material in the lessons, an increasingly large number of periodicals are carrying magazine articles, stories and interpreted news features on the temperance question, law enforcement, and various other phases of the temperance movement. These articles and stories are frequently illustrated with pictures, graphs, and cartoons that help to vivify the material in the mind of the reader.

This is a field in which church school editors and temperance leaders can co-operate. The need for co-operation is evidenced by certain attitudes and approaches among church school editors who feel somewhat at sea for timely material on temperance. Editors who in some cases are more than editors, being publishers and promoters of organization, laboring with small budgets and office personnel, are not in a position to discover, edit or prepare temperance and prohibition material.

Some way should be devised by which those engaged in the temperance movement and who have at hand up-to-date temperance material and know enforcement situations throughout the nation, might get this material to church school publications. Some editors would like to have not only regular releases of clip sheets but well written articles by specialists in certain phases of the temperance and prohibition movement.

In April, 1928, a conference of church school editors and representatives of various temperance organizations was held in the city of Cleveland. The problems of increasing the temperance content and its effectiveness in the Sunday school periodicals, including the story papers and the magazine sections of the lesson helps, were discussed. The conference afforded temperance leaders an opportunity to discuss with the editors what their needs were in this work.

Such an occasional conference between editors and temperance leaders

would be fruitful of results in making the temperance teaching material more effective. It would also serve to keep temperance leaders and church school editors informed as to each other's needs and programs.

There is constant need of exchange of viewpoint and ideas between church school editors and temperance leaders. At the present time we are working somewhat in the dark in our separate compartments, each division of our forces ignorant of what the other is doing or trying to do, or what his limitations.

These conferences between the editors and the leaders of the temperance organizations ought to be held as often as once a year. They could come in connection with the meetings of the International Council of Religious Education to which the editors go and those national conventions of the temperance organizations which temperance leaders usually attend.

It is not always known even among temperance leaders how extensive the work of the church school publications is in serving the cause of temperance and prohibition. The church school publications of one denomination carried 245 articles, stories, editorials, Sunday school lessons or other material bearing directly upon prohibition and the temperance question in the eighteen months ending June, 1928. This is no inconsiderable showing, and temperance leaders are, of course, encouraged to know they are thus supported. One great denominational periodical has recently paid $1,500 for the rights to a stirring serial that will depict truthfully conditions as they used to be under the licensed liquor traffic.

What the editors are doing, what their needs and space limitations are, is of vital importance to temperance workers. By the same token what the temperance leaders are doing, what their programs are from time to time, what their difficulties and problems are, is of vital concern to the church school editors.

The task of the church is a comprehensive one, and one great cause cannot be neglected for the sake of others. The entire Christian ideal must be lifted continually, not in segments but as a whole. This is to say, therefore, that temperance and prohibition must have a place in the balanced emphasis on missions, world peace, industrial righteousness, the rights of women and children, and other pressing social or religious problems.

Will the church hold fast in this critical hour? Yes, she will not only hold the ground already gained, but she is ready to push aggressively on into the enemy's territory.

May I change the word "slavery" to "alcohol" and quote otherwise verbatim from Lowell's poem, "The Present Crisis?"

"Alcohol, the earth-born Cyclops, fellest of the giant brood,
Sons of brutish Force and Darkness, who have drenched the earth with blood;
Famished in his self-made desert, blinded by our purer day,
Gropes in yet unblasted regions for his miserable prey;
Shall we guide his gory fingers where our helpless children stray?"

But this work of establishing the Kingdom of God and lifting up the total Christian ideal is never finished.

"For humanity sweeps onward; where today the martyr stands
On the morrow couches Judas with the silver in his hands;
Far in front the cross stands ready and the crackling fagots burn,
While the hooting mob of yesterday in silent awe return
To glean up the scattered ashes into history's golden urn."

NEWSPAPER PROPAGANDA

JOSEPH H. LARIMORE
Westerville, Ohio

Newspapers are like other businesses, run for profit, not for fun, and usually not for propaganda purposes. Such propaganda as goes out through them quite often either is incidental, or the continuation of a policy long established. Especially is this true of prohibition propaganda.

My publicity, which is national in scope, is based on the proposition that the average newspaper reporter, editor or publisher is honest even if mistaken in his attitude on our question. Obviously there are a few metropolitan newspaper staffs that are of such character in regard to their prohibition attitudes that they strain this theory of mine. Furthermore, the province of newspapers as I see it, is to record the news, whether that news be favorable or unfavorable.

It would take too long to discuss the reasons why some newspapers are wet, to go into the whole matter of newspaper ethics, to explain all the puzzling things which every newspaper man knows, but which are not generally known to the public.

My publicity is based on news stories and not on propaganda. I write all of it as a newspaper man, using the newspaper man's language, writing according to newspaper style, serving up my copy as a newspaper man of training and experience serves up copy to his city editor.

I treat wet and dry newspapers with equal impartiality. I never discuss the prohibition question with them. That's not my business. For the purposes of publicity it is not a whit o' my care or concern whether a particular editor or reporter is wet or dry. It has sometimes happened that I have gotten more space in wet newspapers than in dry ones.

My publicity is given out with due regard to the time it ought to be released. If it is a story, "breaking," as we say, before 3 o'clock in the afternoon, that story belongs first to the afternoon newspapers of that day. If the story breaks after 3 o'clock, it belongs first to the morning papers of the next day.

Often it happens that I cannot give out a story which a particular newspaper or a particular news service wants, but I always explain why I can't do that, and try to give out another story. Quite often I go out of my way to give a newspaper a story quite out of the range of my own publicity stunt.

I have never found it paying to rail at wet newspapers nor to "bawl out" an editor or reporter who gets things askew. I realize that there are limitations; that there are prejudices, that there are mistakes of judgments, that there are dishonesties in all classes of people and that the newspaper men are not free from human weaknesses.

So far as possible I localize my stories. Also, so far as possible, I cut 'em down. There are several things dear to the heart of any newspaper man. Among these are the following: Write your story on one side of the paper; write it in typewriter; make it as short as can be, consistent with the thing you want to get across; be accurate in the use of initials and titles, as well as of names; get it to him early; recognize always that every day of the week or every night, as the case may be, he throws away a great deal more copy than he can use; if he doesn't use your story or if he misuses it, keep on sending him your material.

Finally, nobody knows as well how to handle newspaper copy as a newspaper man. The Anti-Saloon Leagues, state and national, have superintendents, attorneys, financial men, speakers and secretaries. Why not em-

ploy publicity men, a man for each state? For getting your message across is just about as important a thing as you can do.

I always address my envelopes in this manner: If it is a story for a particular state, I send it to the state editor; if it is general, to the news editor; if it is strictly local, to the city editor. And always I use the Associated Press, the United Press and the International or Hearst Service and use them impartially, and whenever I get good service I thank the newspaper men and the news services for their contribution to my success.

COUNTERACTING THE WET PRESS

W. C. A. Wallar
Editor Minnesota Edition of The American Issue

An Ex-President of Yale University once said he would like to add to the Seven Wonders of the World an eighth wonder—the power of the human mind to resist the introduction of ideas. We sympathize with the gentleman when we try and try again to introduce into the public mind the idea that the Anti-Saloon League exists for the purpose of helping the citizen to see and do his duty concerning the use of liquor and of law as a proper agent for its destruction.

This is a newspaper session, apparently, this morning. I am told, on authority I respect, that we have 40,000,000 newspaper readers in this land. 70 percent of whom read little or nothing else, and about 10 percent of whom look over the editorials. With a very large majority of the metropolitan daily papers on the wet side of this issue, it is no wonder that we who are in the battle against liquor are sensitive—are much disturbed, indeed, over the proliquor leanings of the press; and that we feel keenly the difficulties of getting our sort of truth into the newspapers. I have been happy to hear the things that have been said here this morning about the press. My own experience would not quite verify all of that. It is fine to know, as Mr. Christgau especially has been telling us, that there is a bright side to the great city dailies. That is a subject which to me is almost as black as printer's ink. When a single colossal aggregation of capital and management can, in three periodicals, send out fourteen million copies a week of wet propaganda, and when the wet policy is ardently advocated by two or three of the largest chain newspapers of the land, it is perfectly clear that the main job of the Anti-Saloon League is to get by and around and through to the American public in spite of the wet newspaper. And to do this the educational program, as we call it, is the big thing.

I believe we in Minnesota were among the first of the states to take hold of the idea of reaching the larger public by means of the "entertainment with a message." The debate, "Can the Law Be Enforced?" must have been carried well over the state ten or twelve years ago; for you know we are the home of the Christgaus. And we are doing it still, its author modifying it from time to time and keeping it up to date. It is still a winner. Then we quickly got hold of the Hammond-McNaught trial, "Who Killed Earl Wright?" and have put that into nearly all the larger towns of the state. It is a great crowd-getter. We do a lot of advertising, and so far, have had an average attendance of about five hundred. We work the publicity side, and appeal especially to outsiders—to those who do not often hear our church addresses. Then we have a one-man, one-act "show"—"Mayor Martin's Monologue,"—in which the wet mayor of Ennytown in his office dramatically soliloquizes on affairs public and personal and is led through experiences of the day to turn over a new leaf and start on a career of personal sobriety and of

cleaning up the town. It is less expensive than debate or trial, and we believe just about doubles the attendance whether on week night or Sunday. These publicity enterprises justify themselves only when there is both real entertainment and real message. We believe we are doing in these ways a most valuable work in reaching the larger public both young and old.

Will you allow me here this morning ninety seconds in which to give expression to my own opinion both as to the dreadfully immoral and unpatriotic attitudes and inspirations of the wet newspapers, and as to the imperative demand for our educational program? I have put it in the form of what might be in one sense called a poem—for you know a poet is just a builder with words. I call it

Checkers Supreme

Eons ago The Power Supernal and the Power Infernal agreed to a game of Checkers.

The One said: I move Adam.
The Other: I move the Snake.
The One said: I move Abraham.
The Other: I move Egypt.
The One said: I move Moses.
The Other: I move the Canaanites.
The One said: I move David.
The Other: I move Babylon.
The One said: I move Jesus of Nazareth.
The Other: I move Crucifixion.
The One said: I move the Church.
The Other: I move Inquisition.
The One said: I move Martin Luther.
The Other: I move Sectarianism.
The One said: I move American Christian Democracy.
The Other: I move the Rum Power.
The One said; I move Prohibition.
The Other: I move the Wet Press.
The One said: I move Enlightened Public Opinion.
The Other: You win.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

HELPING HOOVER'S ENFORCEMENT PROGRAM

GEORGE W. CRABBE
Superintendent Anti-Saloon League of Maryland and Delaware

From the standpoint of Federal enforcement of prohibition responsibility must be placed on the floor of the White House. President Hoover has shown a disposition to accept this responsibility. His statements show sincerity and determination. All must admit that his task is a tremendously difficult one. No one familiar with the lawlessness of the liquor traffic minimizes the task that is before the President. Naturally he must know his task. He has set about to do this.

Friends of orderly government should be patient. They should give him every opportunity needed to study the problem. Constructive criticism helps. We should never forget that there may be difficulties we know nothing of. Many a faithful public official has been discredited because good citizens talked when they should have helped.

If President Hoover is held responsible for law enforcement and is to

make good at the job he must be given a free hand to build up the proper kind of enforcement. True, prohibition has been operative for ten years but Herbert Hoover has been President but a few months. We need less criticism of officials who do their duty. Law enforcement will never succeed if a United States Senator is able to dictate the appointment of officials who are not in favor of the law they are chosen to enforce. We must not forget that a United States Senator is a man of some influence at Washihgton, that the states by his election clothe him with a certain standing that the President must recognize. If we will elect United States Senators who will support law enforcement because they believe in it some handicaps will be avoided.

As superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of the states of Maryland and Delaware I might be estopped from saying much regarding law enforcement codes. It is true Delaware has a very good enforcement law. The state of Maryland has none. The population of Maryland is divided about evenly between Baltimore city and the 23 counties of the state. Four of the counties are so closely connected with the city of Baltimore in a commercial and political way that their interests are almost the same. Nineteen of the 23 counties have obsolete local option laws. All of the counties have laws restricting the sale of liquor without a license. This law, in itself, is fairly well enforced with the exception of Baltimore city. If President Hoover was given as free a hand throughout the nation as he has in Maryland and Delaware, there would be but little concern from the Federal standpoint. Officials in charge of enforcement are capable and believe in the law they are enforcing. United States District Attorney Amos W. W. Woodcock is a man of marked ability and with his assistants takes good care of all government matters. The law enforcement and permissive heads are likewise men of character and ability.

United States Senators in these states of the dominant party are all three in favor of law enforcement. We believe that a state can go farther toward helping the President by taking care of local police cases than most any other way. Maryland has a governor politically and personally wet, a man who thinks he has been running for President for some years, and who thinks it is good politics to do everything within his power to prevent the enforcement of prohibition in the state of Maryland. We expect to help Mr. Hoover in enforcement in Maryland by ending the political career of Albert C. Ritchie, in November, 1930. Maryland is a conservative state. It has been a long, hard fight but we demonstrated in the last election for United States Senator when Mr. Bruce, who had been six years building his platform and campaign, was defeated by the outstanding dry, Senator Goldsborough, that the state is right on this question. We expect next November that the people will say to Mr. Hoover by their votes, that they are with him and that to help.

TEN YEARS OF PROHIBITION IN VIRGINIA

DAVID HEPBURN

Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of Virginia

For nearly three hundred years the Commonwealth of Virginia has experimented with Government Control of liquor traffic. The first General Assembly to convene on American soil, which met in the choir loft in the church on Jamestown Island in 1619, passed laws to punish drunkenness and the sale of liquor to Indians. From that time until the present the General Assembly of Virginia has enacted various and sundry laws to control or suppress the evils growing out of the consumption of lquor for beverage purposes. Every method of regulation and control, including Government sale, was given

a fair trial under favorable conditions, but failed in every instance to reduce either the consumption of liquor or the evils of the traffic.

It is needless to say that every method employed to control or regulate the business was bitterly opposed by the friends of the business. The present opposition to prohibition is nothing new. The liquor forces have neither honor nor patriotism, nor any of those spiritual impulses that would tend to improve the moral and material welfare of the masses. Their religion is personal liberty, liberty to debase and to demoralize their customers and their families for financial gain from the legal manufacture, sale and consumption of ardent spirits. The liquor forces are after the easy money that can be made in the liquor business with less labor, less capital and less intelligence than can be made in any legitimate business.

Two hundred and ninety-five years of Government Control was surely sufficient time to demonstrate that no method ever devised by human intelligence could hope to regulate or control the beverage liquor traffic. All along the years the liquor traffic has proven conclusively that it was the enemy of the Home, the Church and the State.

Under the leadership of the Anti-Saloon League and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Virginia placed the brand of the outlaw upon the business by a majority vote of 30,365 on September 22, 1914. In response to this expressed will of the people, the Legislature of 1916 enacted a Law Enforcement Code, prohibiting the manufacture and distribution of alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes. Each succeeding Legislature, with few exceptions, has improved and strengthened the law in those points wherein experience and practice proved it was weak. Today the Virginia Prohibition Law is equaled by few, if any, and surpassed by none in its effectiveness. The Federal Prohibition Administrator for Virginia, Captain Q. C. Merrick, in a letter to the Superintendent of the League, commending the League and the Attorney General's Department, says:

"I have been wanting to write you for some time to thank you for the help you and your organization have given us from time to time in our efforts at enforcement of the National Prohibition Act, and I want you to know of the very close cooperation we have with the State Prohibition Department under Clonel Saunders.

"I believe the State of Virginia has the best state enforcement of any state in which I have worked.

"Our records will show that more than half of the cases made by our agents, in this state, are tried in the state courts."

The Federal Department, under the splendid administration of Captain Merrick, gets quicker and better results from the state law in the state courts than from the Volstead Act in the Federal courts. This also relieves the Federal Courts in Virginia of any congestion, and incidentally the state gets the benefit of the fines and cash received from confiscated property.

There is a fine spirit of cooperation on the part of the Federal and state enforcement officials with the Anti-Saloon League, and this is true of a large number of local officials.

Anti-Saloon League Activities

The main business of the Anti-Saloon League is the destruction of the beverage liquor traffic. The method of securing this much desired end is through Education, Agitation and Legislation. In recent years the public press and public speakers have contended that the "dry" forces have given up their campaign of Education, and have laid the emphasis too much on Law Enforcement. This has never been true of the Anti-Saloon League of

Virginia. The League necessarily has given much time and thought to Law Enforcement, but the main emphasis has been laid upon Education.

In the past years the League has raised and spent more than $350,000 in its state-wide educational campaign for law observance. This money was contributed through the churches, and was used for the Education work of the League. The political activities of the League have been financed by individuals outside of the churches through a political committee, whose activities were confined entirely to political work. None of the contributions of the churches were used for this purpose.

We have had speakers of national and international reputation who have addressed hundreds of thousands of our citizens, and tens of thousands of students in our high schools and colleges. We have prepared and distributed more than one and one-half million book pages of literature each year. We have printed thousands of scientific articles on the liquor question showing the effects of alcohol upon the human system. We have furnished material for debates, sermons and reports for denominational gatherings. We have published and distributed practically free over 1,200,000 copies of the American Issue, Virginia Edition. These have gone into the homes of our pastors, Sunday School Superintendents and leading citizens. The League has been a clearing house for up-to-date accurate information on the prohibition question.

The League has a mailing list of more than 100,000 prominent and influential citizens, and they are constantly receiving literature and letters containing valuable information on the prohibition question and the activities of numerous "wet" organizations. We have our Field Secretaries who give all their time to the State-wide Educational Campaign. There are tens of thousands of new voters in Virginia who are unacquainted with the old saloon and its evil influence on the community, and the State-wide Educational Program of the League is absolutely essential to teach the new voters and the rising generation about the curse of strong drink, and to defeat as far as possible the "wet" propaganda appearing in the "wet" press daily.

Law Enforcement

The cost of Law Enforcement in the state for the last ten years amounted to $660,000. This appropriation is made to the Attorney General with the authority to employ agents and help for the enforcement of the Prohibition Law. The amount of fines imposed and cash received from confiscated property for the ten years amounted to $3,695,216.13 After the fees and rewards are paid to the Commonwealth Attorneys, sheriffs, deputies and special officers, the balance is turned into the State Treasury for the benefit of the Literary Fund.

The Attorney General has done a splendid work with the limited amount of money at his disposal. While the Governor and the General Assembly are lavish in the expenditure of the people's money, they have failed to appropriate an edequate sum for enforcement of the Prohibition Law. The present Governor and Legislature should make an appropriation that would justify the Attorney General in paying his agents a reasonable salary, and employ sufficient good men to suppress the lawless element.

The Federal Enforcement Department has been unable to function as it should in the past. There have been too many re-organizations and political interferences with appointments. The present organization under the civil service regulations in charge of Captain Q. C. Merrick, has been given a good account of itself, and if left alone in the future will produce satisfactory and permanent results.

The secret service men in time will apprehend and bring to justice the men who are furnishing the brains and means for carrying on their nefarious business. The conviction of two or three of them in each community would paralyze the illegal traffic. But these big men cannot be apprehended except through the Secret Service Department.

State Officials

On November 5, 1929, Virginia elected a Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Attorney General and 104 members of the Legislature. The new Governor, inaugurated on yesterady, Hon. John Garland Pollard, in his reply to the League's questionnaire answered as follows:

"If elected Governor of Virginia, I shall oppose any measure looking to the repeal, or any measure which would tend to weaken our State Prohibition Laws, and if such a measure is passed by the General Assembly, I shall veto the same."

The replies of the Lieutenant-Governor, Hon. James H. Price, and the Attorney General, Hon. John R. Saunders, were also satisfactory. Seventy-five per cent of the candidates for the Legislature also replied satisfactorily to the League's questionnaire. Thirty candidates had no opposition and did not think it necessary to reply. More than ninety percent of the present members of the Senate and House are favorable to our Prohibition Law, and will oppose any measure to weaken or repeal the same.

The fact that most, if not all of the candidates for office, knew the State League's consistent non-partisan policy in the past and in the gubernatorial campaign made it possible for them to reply to the League's questionnaire. Had the State League aligned itself with either party or faction, it would have been impossible to have received these (the largest number of favorable replies in the League's history) replies from successful candidates. Only four whose replies were unsatisfactory were elected to the General Assembly.

Our two Senators and eight of the ten members of Congress from Virginia can be depended upon to support prohibition as a governmental policy.

Virginia's majority of nearly 25,000 for Herbert Hoover in 1928 was purely a protest against the "wet" record and program of the Democratic nominee. The citizenship of the Commonwealth are intelligent and patriotic. They are controlled by neither party nor religious prejudice. They are independent and prize more highly a moral principle than their party's temporary success. The failure of the coalition candidates in the gubernatorial election last year was no indication that Virginia had changed her position on the prohibition question. The replies to the League's questionnaire prove this fact. If the party leaders in the state and nation believe that she has, and are foolish enough to nominate a "wet" candidate in 1932 for president, Virginia will repudiate him and vote for the "dry" candidate, regardless of his party affiliation.

Pastors and Churches

The pastors of Virginia are almost unanimous in their approval of prohibition and in their cooperation with the Anti-Saloon League. There are few Evangelical churches in the state where the League's representatives are not welcome to present the cause of temperance and prohibition.

The Methodist and Baptist denominations and the Christian Church in their recent annual State Conventions passed resolutions commending the Anti-Saloon League as a non-partisan interdenominational organization through which the membership of the Evangelical churches and those of no denominational affiliation have worked in the past for the destruction of the beverage liquor traffic, and pledging their moral and financial support to the State and National Anti-Saloon League for the creation and maintenance of

a proper sentiment for Law Enforcement and for the education of the masses of the people concerning the evils and destructiveness of strong drink.

Public Health

The population of Virginia has increased from 2,150,000 in 1918 to 2,570,000 in 1928. The death rate for this period has decreased from 14 percent to 11.7 percent. The death rate of children under two years of age has decreased from 8,009 in 1918 to 5,053 in 1928.

The dependent class cared for in County, City and District Homes has decreased from 4,893 in 1916 to 3,078 in 1929. The number of those helped by organized charities has decreased from 20,883 in 1916 to 14,205 in 1929, a total decrease of dependents of 7,508. There are fewer dependents in Virginia today in proportion to the population than ever in her history.

Colleges and Prohibition

For a number of years there have been widespread rumors of increased drinking at some of our Educational institutions. The officials of many of these have publicly declared that there has been a decrease in the amount of liquor consumed and drunkenness among the students.

In 1928, however, there were serious charges made in the public press by responsible parties that there was an excessive amount of drinking at the Thanksgiving football game at our great State University. Subsequently, there were charges made by the Field Secretary of one of the fraternal organizations that liquor was manufactured and openly drunk in at least one of the fraternity houses. These rumors and charges were denied, and the State Superintendent was vigorously denounced by Alumni Associations, officials of the University and the public press.

As a partial result of this agitation and publicity during the subsequent months, the following official action with reference to the possession and use of ardent spirits at the University proves that conditions were not as satisfactory as they should have been. In response to the demand of Dr. Alderman, President of the University of Virginia, the Administrative Council, according to the "Daily Progress" of Charlottesville, Virginia, January 22, 1929, adopted an official statement vigorously in favor of law enforcement.

By May, 1929, 32 fraternities of the University of Virginia, had unanimously passed resolutions expressing their willingness and intent to cooperate with the Administrative Council in their efforts to prevent the drinking of alcoholic liquors in the Chapter Houses and on the grounds of the University. From "College Topics," a student paper, we find that all students renting rooms in dormitories were required to sign a lease containing a clause prohibiting the possession or use of intoxicating liquors by students.

Washington and Lee University required all prospective students in 1929 to sign a pledge not to take a drink while a student at Lexington. A circular letter was sent to the parents of such students by President Henry Louis Smith, suggesting to the parents not to send to Washington and Lee University any student who declined to sign the pledge.

One other educational institution the past year made a public announcement that the possession or use of liquor would not be tolerated, and the professors were requested to announce to their classes that before any student should take a drink of liquor in the future, he had better purchase his ticket back home.

Whatever may have been the attitude of the officials, or to what extent the use of alcoholic liquor may have been indulged in at our great institutions in the past, the above official actions place the colleges, officials and students definitely on the side of law observance.

Prohibition and the Press

The Virginia press is published and controlled by a very fine class of Virginia gentlemen, men of character and standing in their communities. They are as a rule deeply interested in the moral and material progress of their communities. When you consider, therefore, the marvelous moral and material benefits of prohibition and the improved conditions of the working class in general since the adoption of State-wide Prohibition, it seems strange that any of our great dailies in Virginia should continue to give aid and comfort to the lawless class. Yet almost daily you will find some of these papers ridiculing and making light of prohibition and prohibition officials. They seem to be unconscious of the fact that their attitude aligns them with the lawless and most disreputable element in the state, and thus creates disrespect for the law and increases crime.

The following conservative statement of President Herbert Hoover to the New York Press Association on April 22, 1929, applies to too many of our State papers:

"I wonder sometimes, however, if perhaps a little more support of our laws could not be given in one direction. If instead of the glamour of romance and heroism our American imaginative minds too frequently throw around those who break the law we would invest with a little romance and heroism those thousands of our officers who are endeavoring to enforce the law it would itself decrease crime. Perhaps a little better proportioned balance of news concerning those criminals who are convicted and punished would serve to instill the fear of the law."

Economics

The liquor forces and their friends during the strenuous days for the Enabling Act and State-wide Prohibition prophesied dire results would follow the adoption of the Prohibition Law, that the loss of revenue from the breweries, distilleries and saloons would cause the State to go bankrupt, that it would be impossible to build roads, to build schools, to educate our children or to pay the interest on the bonded indebtedness, or to pension the old soldiers. Had their prophecy come true, and had there been a reduction in revenue, or in the industrial output and in the capital invested, they would have charged this to prohibition. But there were false prophets in those days.

The fact that State officials and public speakers refer to the phenomenal prosperity of Virginia to boost the party in power, or the administration, invariably use the statistics from 1916 up to the present time, proves clearly, what they are unwilling to admit, that prohibition is the largest contributing factor for the present industrial prosperity of the Commonwealth. In fact, the official records will demonstrate this to be true.

In 1916, the last "wet" year, the total income from all sources for the upkeep of the Government was $7,945,202.00. In 1929 it was $45,501,755.51, an increase of $37,556,533.51 for the prohibition years, or an increase of $2,888,965.65 per year, against $323,332.00 per year for the last eight "wet" years, or $538.51 per year from the time the old Constitution was adopted in 1776 until the time the State adopted prohibition.

From 1916 to 1929 the expenditures for the building and upkeep of good roads increased from $657,000 to $12,500,000.

The value of school property increased from $16,204,000 to more than $61,000,000.

The industrial output of the State increased from $367,000,000 to $728,425,000.

The amount of capital invested increased from $183,000,000 to $733,428,000.

The total resources of the banks increased from $334,375,000 to $674,103,000, an increase of $339,728,000, or more than 100 per cent.

The bank deposits increased from $247,944,000 to $485,153,000, a total gain of $237,209,000, or nearly 100 per cent for the prohibition years.

If Virginia maintains her Prohibition Law and the present progress of prosperity, she will be among the leading industrial states of the Nation within the next few years.

A QUARTER CENTURY OF LEAGUE ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN ILLINOIS

Rev. George B. Safford, D.D.
Superintendent, Anti-Saloon League of Illinois

When National Prohibition became effective January 16, 1920, 55 Illinois counties were entirely dry. Forty-six counties were partly wet, only one county was all wet. Of the townships, 1,425 were dry (including 170 precincts in counties not under township organization) and 190 townships (including 24 preceincts) were wet. Seventy-seven percent of the population of the state omitting the city of Chicago, resided in dry territory. Counting the city of Chicago as entireiy wet, 47 percent of the population of the state lived in dry territory, and 88 percent of the area of the state was no-license territory. Eighty-two of the 102 county seats were dry. There were a total of 917 dry cities and villages, and 243 wet cities and villages.

The latest census, of saloons, December 6, 1917, showed that there were 9,893 saloons in the state. Nine thousand, seven hundred and seventy-seven were in cities and villages and 116 were outside of cities and villages. Six thousand, seven hundred and eighteen saloons were located in Cook County.

Illinois Ratifies Eighteenth Amendment

Seventeen Illinois Congressmen voted to submit the proposed Eighteenth Amendment to the states and only seven voted against it; thus Illinois furnished more than her share of the necessary two-thirds vote for submission. Eighteen of her representatives and both her United States Senators were dry.

In 1918 a vigorous campaign was waged to secure a Legislature that would ratify the Eighteenth Amendment. Dry workers were sent into all the counties of the state. Solid dry delegations for the House were nominated and elected in fifteen senatorial districts. Those 45 dry votes overcame the wet majority of about 45 in Cook county, and enabled the drys to ratify, in the Senate January 8, 1919, the first day of the legislative session, after a two-thirds vote to suspend the rule, by a vote of 30 to 16; and on January 14, the third legislative day of the session, the first chance for a vote under the rules, the House finished the job by a vote of 84 for to 64 against it. As a result, Illinois was the first big state to ratify, taking such action as number State 26, two days before Nebraska, as number 36, completed the action on the 16th of January, 1920.

Campaign For and Enactment of Illinois Prohibition Act—1920-1921

The principal campaign of the Anti-Saloon League in 1920-1921 was for the enactment of a law to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment. Preceding the Primary Election of September 15, 1920 and General Election November 2, the Anti-Saloon League carried on a campaign for the nomination and election of legislature candidates favorable to Prohibition enforcement.

A State Prohibition enforcement bill to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment, harmonizing the State law with the Volstead Act, was passed by the Senate on May 19, 1921 by a vote of 30 to 12. It passed the House on June 8 by a vote of 81 to 62. The bill was signed by Governor Small on June 27 and be-

came effective on July 1. It is known as the "Illinois Prohibition Act" and is one of the strongest of state enforcement codes. It has been held constitutional as a whole by the Supreme Court, and in all provisions, the validity of which have been attacked.

Beer and Wine Referendum—1922

In 1922 a petition was circulated by wet organizations and filed with the Secretary of State asking for a vote on the following question at the election on the seventh of November:

Shall the existing state and federal prohibitory laws be modified so as to permit the manufacture, sale and transportation of beer (containing less than 4 percent by volume of alcohol) and light wines and beer for home consumption?

The Anti-Saloon League together with other temperance organizations urged voters to disregard this referendum because even if successful it would be impossible under the Eighteenth Amendment, also it would have no legal effect on the Legislature. Instead the League urged all dry voters to concentrate their efforts upon the election of dry members of the Legislature and Congress. As a result the wets won the referendum but the drys held their ground in the Legislature and elected more dry Congressmen than ever before. Richard Yates, a Republican, running for Congress-at-Large on a prohibition enforcement platform, was elected by two hundred and seventy-six thousand votes over Simon J. Gorman, Democrat, who ran on a beer and wine platform.

The Illinois Prohibition Act, passed in 1921, has been subject to violent attack in every succeeding session of the Legislature. In 1923-25-27 and '29 bills were introduced proposing to repeal this Act and also the Search and Seizure Law. If these bills had been passed they would have put the State of Illinois in opposition to the Eighteenth Amendment and paralyzed to a large extent the law enforcement activities of twenty thousand state peace officers not only in apprehending liquor law violators but all other criminals.

For this entire period the wets and drys have been almost at a dead-lock on this measure. In 1923 it was put on the calendar of the House by a vote of 78 to 70. Each succeeding year it was passed by the House and defeated in the Senate. In 1929 it was passed in the House by a vote of 77 to 65, an exact constitutional majority. Had the drys who were unavoidably absent been present to participate in the vote, the score would have been 77 to 71, practically identical with what it was in 1923. Each year this measure was defeated in the Senate by good majorities.

Primary and General Election of 1926

In the primary election held April 13, 1926, Col. Frank L. Smith was the regular Republican nominee for the United States Senate, and George Brennan, Democratic boss, and outstanding wet leader, was nominated by the wets as their candidate. Mr. Brennan carried on an intensive campaign throughout the state, making modification of the Volstead law the chief plank in his platform. Frank L. Smith, former member of Congress and dry, despite the attitude of the leaders of his party in Chicago and Cook county, came out with an unequivocal statement for the enforcement of the Volstead law and the maintenance of the Eighteenth Amendment. Although he had the united opposition of the big Chicago wet newspapers, Col. Smith defeated Mr. Brennan by approximately 71,363 votes, and this in spite of the fact that during the last five weeks of the campaign an independent dry Republican candidate for the United States Senate was put in the field in the person of Hugh McGill, a former State Senator. The wets took advantage of this situation and nothing was left undone by the political tricksters and the wet newspapers to split the dry vote between Smith and McGill in a desperate effort to elect Brennan. In this situa-

tion the Anti-Saloon League stood firm in the face of bitter criticism and even abuse.

In Brennan's defeat the lawless, nullification liquor forces of Illinois and the nation were dealt one of the hardest blows they have received since they began an organized nation-wide conspiracy, with their beer and wine program, to break down the laws of the various states and nullify the Constitution of the nation.

All of the nineteen dry Congressmen of Illinois were re-elected, the two dry Congressmen-at large, Rathbone and Yates, being re-elected by great majorities over their wet opponents.

Second Wet Referendum—1926

Again in 1926 the wets succeeded in placing on the ballot at the general election a referendum as follows:

"Should the Congress of the United States modify the Federal act to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States so that the same shall not prohibit the manufacture, sale, transportation, importation, or exportation of beverages which are not in fact intoxicating, as determined in accordance with the laws of the respective states?"

The Anti-Saloon League, together with other leading temperance and civic organizations, pointed out that this was nothing more nor less than a trick referendum, devised by the wets to confuse and split up the drys and divert their attention from their main issue, viz.: the defeat of George Brennan for the United States Senate. Many good people found it difficult to follow the League's suggestions in the matter, believing that they should stand up and be counted, and if they did so, the drys might win.

However, the effect of the position taken by the League and the other reform forces was such that only approximately half as many dry votes were cast against the referendum as were cast in behalf of dry candidates. Roughly speaking there were about 500,000 who voted "No" on the wet referendum, whereas there were approximately 1,000,000 in support of dry candidates. The strategy of the League in this matter was such as to really compel the wets to fight their own record in 1922 instead of fighting the drys in 1926. They had to equal or beat the record made in 1922 or else face the charge of a big reaction against their policy.

In 1922 the wet referendum received 1,065,000 favorable votes in Illinois. In 1926, four years after, in spite of the increase in population, the wets received 224,369 fewer votes. In Chicago the figures were impressive and inspiring. In 1922, the wet referendum received 552,000 votes in Cook County and in 1926, in spite of an increase of more than a quarter of a million in population, the wets received in the same area, 452,041 votes. In both years the wets did their utmost to get out their whole vote because it was their scheme and their politics to do so, and the results showed 100,000 fewer wet votes in Cook County in 1926 than in 1922. It is impossible to explain this on any ground except by admitting that there is a steady and powerful drift in public sentiment from the wet to the dry side.

General Election—1928

No state gained greater victories for the cause of prohibition and good government in the 1928 election than did Illinois. Chicago had been widely heralded as a notoriously misgoverned city. A combination of crime and politics, developed and strengthened through many years of corruption, seemed to have a stranglehold on the community. One of the most notorious wets in the State was a candidate for the United States Senate. Powerful political cross currents seemed to make it impossible to rally the dry forces to overcome the

wet interests. But through the most heroic efforts on the part of good citizens and prohibition supporters the constituency of the State was aroused to the seriousness of the situation. A greater number of voters registered than ever before in the State's history. In the City of Chicago alone the registration was approximately 1,400,000. The State Anti-Saloon League put special workers in numerous districts and cooperated energetically with all other agencies which were working to resist the wet attack. The results were most gratifying. Districts in Chicago which have been notorious for ballot stuffing, were places of peace and safety for the voters. With one or two glaring exceptions there was practically no lawlessness and little corruption evident on election day. Almost the entire number of registered voters went to the polls. Hoover, the dry, carried Chicago by 21,000 majority, Cook County by 94,000 and the state of Illinois by 454,324. In the city of Chicago, the reform candidate for State's attorney, John A. Swanson, won by 160,000 against the most powerful bi-partisan combination that could be formed. In the Legislature the drys made a gain of several members and retained control of the State Senate. Anton Cermak, the notorious wet candidate for U. S. Senator, was defeated by 278,693 votes. The State has two dry United States Senators, and 18 drys in the lower house of Congress out of a total of 25. The Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State and Attorney General, were supported by the prohibition forces and were elected by large majorities.

Summary of Status of Law Enforcement

Each successive election of state's attorneys since the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment and the state prohibition law has resulted in an increase in the number of aggressive prosecutors. While there are a number of counties where results have been slow, on the whole, improvement in the enforcement of the law has been substantial and in many counties, quite marked. Federal enforcement, rather discouraging during the first several years after the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment because of political influence, and the many changes in personnel and methods of administration, has been much improved during the last several years.

The impact of better federal enforcement, augmented by the strong stand of President Hoover, is beginning to be reflected in better state enforcement. The victory in Cook County in the election of Judge Swanson as State's Attorney, in the general election November, 1928, besides having the direct result of putting nearly one-half of the population under state's attorney favorable to enforcement, has also had a most wholesome indirect influence through the state. It has greatly encouraged citizens and state's attorneys alike.

After the wet forces of the nation succeeded in repealing the prohibition law in Wisconsin in 1929, they turned their guns on the Illinois Legislature, then in session, and staged one of the most terrific fights that Illinois has yet seen, seeking the repeal of our state prohibition laws and the enactment of various measures to break down prohibition enforcement. The bill to submit to a referendum vote repeal of the Search and Seizure law and the Illinois Prohibition Act (Weber-O'Grady bill, H. B. 13), passed in the House by a vote of 77 to 65, the exact necessary constitutional majority, but was defeated in the Senate by a vote of 28 to 21.

In 1929 the Anti-Saloon League obtained the enactment of an amendment to the Motor Vehicles Law increasing the penalty for driving an automobile while intoxicated. This provision of the law was very weak as no minimum penalty was provided. The law as amended imposes a fine of not less than $100.00 and a ten day jail sentence; the maximum penalty was also increased, so that it may now be as high as a thousand dollars and six months imprisonment.

Prohibition enforcement in Illinois is without question on a stronger foundation today than at any time since the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment. In a majority of the counties the prohibition law is as well enforced as the health laws, game laws, motor vehicle laws and similar statutes. And both in the rural districts and the largest cities the sentiment of the people is unmistakably increasing in strength for strict enforcement of the law.

WHAT IS THE CALL OF THE HOUR?

BISHOP THOMAS NICHOLSON
President, Anti-Saloon League of America

Every great moral and spiritual movement has been compelled to fight its way. One of the strange anomalies of life and of any doctrine of Providence is that it seems as if many forms of sin can be made profitable at least for a season. It really is not so. Slavery was thought to be. A few men for a considerable period made it yield great fortunes in money. We now know, however, that slave labor was an unprofitable kind of labor and that slavery was an economic failure. It took the long look and the long test to prove it so.

Those who constructed the Panama Canal found that intelligent, High School and College-trained American labor at $3.60 a day was more profitable than ignorant coolie labor at 80 cents a day. Lotteries were once thought to be profitable. I think there still stands in the city of Baltimore a church built with the proceeds of a lottery. Now they are prohibited by law as a menace to society. All forms of gambling at times yield immediate profits to a few, as witness Monte Carlo; but we know that society suffers whenever any men or any group of men take anything without returning an equivalent. There is enough of the gambling chance for profit in wickedness to make conscienceless men fight to the death for blighting but temporarily profitable evils. Such evils nevertheless are indefinitely on the basis of the broad and sane foundations on which society must be built. Accordingly the defenders of such shift from one line of trenches to another. This has been particularly true of the liquor traffic. In the early days of the republic, George Washington was compelled to put down the Whisky Rebellion by force of arms. Citizens of the new and forming republic resented any interference with their supposed right to do as they pleased. There was an excess of emphasis upon that personal liberty which has been so freely exploited in the last ten years, but the Father of his country saw that society must be protected from fiendishly selfish men who were capitalizing the appetites of their weaker brothers and selling out heaven for gain of gold.

From the days of Washington until this hour we have been in a titanic struggle with this greatest of evils. Every new device which could be invented or conceived has been employed. It has been a Verdun struggle. It is now approaching an Armageddon. An article by an Iowa editor in a recent number of the "American Issue" tells the story of a half century struggle in a single state which resulted in the decision of that commonwealth after trying all proposed experiments and makeshifts that prohibition with all its difficulties was the best method of dealing with the liquor traffic. In fact they concluded that it was the only sane and feasible method of dethroning and destroying this arch enemy of the republic and of the race.

It would be a work of supererogation in this company to do more than to recount by way of reminder a few of the shifty methods of attack which have been employed by the liquor forces since the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment.

1. There was the legal battle. The virulence of that attack is evidenced

by the fact that a competent authority has made a list of 109 cases decided by the Supreme Court of the United States. These cases covered every conceivable vulnerable point in the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act. The amazing thing is that in practically every case the decision has been against the liquor forces. This legislation stands out as the most severely tested and best authenticated legislation in the history of the republic.

2. The personal liberty argument has been worked to the limit, and that too at a time when for various reasons the people of this country were peculiarly sensitive to the principle involved.

No more effective answer has ever been given to that fallacy than is found in some of the decisions of the Supreme Court.

3. The efforts at modification have signally failed. A long-suffering public had already tried regulation in every conceivable form. A great majority of our citizens had come to the conclusion that the only way to deal with this evil was to tear it up root and branch. Here was one great benefit accruing from the painfully slow method of trying out measures by local option. The fact was that in every county, in every city, in almost every state in the Union the people had learned by experience that there was no law which could be framed which the liquor traffic would not defy or evade. All the pretenses at the acceptance of regulations, every show of decency, were based upon the principle of going just as far as the public would stand, while aiming to increase the output of the brewery and the saloon, to multiply the number of drinkers, old and young, just as rapidly as it was possible to do so. The revolt of the public against these tactics of the liquor traffic was unexpected in its vigor. The verdict was an amazement to even the friends of prohibition. When the wets and their sympathizers in Congress tacked on the proviso that the Eighteenth Amendment must be ratified in seven years they thought they had played safe, but in an incredibly short time forty-six of the forty-eight states ratified. The citizens of this country had made up their mind that the saloon must go, that it was a public nuisance. Many attempts have been made within the ten-year period to bring back the liquor traffic, with the promise that the saloon would never be restored. A friend of mine, an astute and prominent business man of Detroit, some time ago made a trip to Canada where under government control they claimed to have restored the liquor traffic without the saloon. When he returned I asked what he had found. He threw up his hands and said, "I looked into the drinking places, I went about the city, I saw the immense increase of drinking, and I said, the same old crowd, the same old method in disguised form. None of that for me." And he was not what the newspapers have tried to discredit as a fanatical prohibitionist.

There is a surprising article by Senator Bruce of Maryland in the December number of "Current History." The article is surprising for some of its admissions and several of its statements, because of the prominence Senator Bruce attained as a wet and because of some of the positions he has taken in the last few years. Among those admissions is the one several times repeated in various forms and now accepted, I think by most of the wets, that any attempt to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment would be futile. Among other things in that article are statements, speaking of the attempt to make a distinction between intoxicating liquors and distilled liquors. He says, "It is hard to see how any judge or for that matter any layman, unless tipsy from the use of spirituous liquors or wine, could have reached any other conclusion. There is nothing whatever in the context of the Eighteenth Amendment to indicate that the words 'Intoxicating liquors' in that amendment are intended to be used in a special sense as importing spirituous and

distilled liquors only, and there is everything in the historic genesis, to use a judicial phrase of the Eighteenth Amendment, to indicate that the words 'Intoxicating liquors' were used in it in a general sense to interdict any kind of intoxicating beverages, distilled, brewed, or fermented."

In another paragraph Senator Bruce says: "Discussion in every form before the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment and the history of the times clearly demonstrate that the object of the prohibition amendment in its last stages was to write into the Federal Constitution nothing less than a sweeping denunciation of every sort of strong drink, ardent or temperate, that makes a man drunk."

In addition to these confessions as to the sweep of the amendment, I beg you to note the admissions that spirituous liquor or even wine does incapacitate a judge for rendering proper decisions.

A part of another paragraph is equally striking. He says: "There are no substantial grounds for thinking that the human appetite for spirituous liquors could ever be totally displaced by the use of wine and malt liquors, and of course if this is true the bootlegger, even if the plan of Justice Hoyt were validly consummated, would still have a flourishing vocation."

Our genial humorist, Will Rogers, in a paragraph sent out from Boston has hit it about right. He says: "I see in Washington dispatches that the Democrats are planning to take the wet side and make a direct issue of prohibition in thirty-two. Why a man should dig his grave three years before he is buried is almost unexplainable.

"I spent three years in forty-eight states, each season kidding and joking on both sides of prohibition and if you think this country is wet, you have got a big city angle on a nation that is composed of country folk. It is the only law we ever had where the small town and country know they hold the trump card. You can't change it without their permission and you won't get it. They are just laughing at you."

Meeting as we do in this biennial convention and looking toward the future, our enemies very largely set the gauge of battle. There are points at which we must wisely take the offensive, but in the main we are in the position of a nation which has won a great military victory and is contending with an enemy which has no chance of winning on a straight battle front and is accordingly keeping up a guerilla welfare in the hills and in haunts which are difficult of access.

My friends, it is not entirely an evil that we must fight something at each legislature. I think there is a sense in which we owe a debt of gratitude to the liquor power for keeping up the fight. They are keeping us awake. Perhaps one-third of the voting power of this nation knows nothing about the saloon and the evils which attended it. They have come to voting age within the last ten years. A professor in a state college in Kansas told me recently that the majority of the student body in his institution had never seen a saloon and had little idea of what it was. Nothing could be more serious than for our people to go to sleep and let the minions of the liquor traffic quietly and insidiously work the bootleg traffic as they would. It is well that we are on the fighting line. In a republic nothing is safe until the people make it so. We are the government. An intelligent, well-informed, wide-awake public is a necessity to the safety of any law like this.

The chief danger in the present situation from the point of view of the prohibition forces is the lack of funds to put on a legitimate and effective campaign. We are in peril of indifferent friends who think the battle is over. It is a libel to say that in the objectionable sense of the term we maintain a lobby. We have nobody trying to put over a thing by intimida-

tion, by securing votes, by any method, fair or foul. We do exercise everywhere the right of American citizens to put in the most forceful possible manner facts before the people and before our legislators, to keep on a program of education, to keep our investigations down to the minute, to put the facts in the most attractive and convincing form. Believing in Representative Government, we claim the right to work for the defeat of any legislator who does not correctly represent us on what we believe to be one of the greatest questions before any nation today. All that is legitimate, but it takes money. Any one who knows how much it costs to mail out a single piece of literature to a million people understands what I am talking about. The expenditures of the Anti-Saloon League and kindred organizations have been pitifully small as compared with the sums spent by the liquor interests and their sympathizers.

The call of the hour is for definite, sacrificial, aggressive service in a great cause. There is a passage in the Book of Revelation which condemns the Laodiceans because they were neither cold not hot, just luke-warm. The Apostle represents the Lord as proposing to spew them out of His mouth.

Desperate efforts are made to create sympathy with the bootlegger. Much discussion has recently arisen regarding the action of the Coast Guard in shooting down smugglers in the enforcement of the law. A salutary editorial in the "Detroit Free Press" for Thursday, January 2nd, has this pertinent paragraph:

"It is likely to be more than a little difficult for the owner of the rum-runner 'Black Duck' to make much of a case against the Coast Guard patrol which fired upon his vessel off Newport and killed three of the members of his crew. Liquor smugglers are flagrant murderers who deliberately defy authority and knowingly, and of choice, invite sudden death when they engage in their illegal activities. They are in a class with gangsters, and where evidence regarding their character is clear, and they are caught red-handed in the perpetration of crime they are entitled to the same sort of treatment deserved by those gentry."

The statement by Arthur D. Wood, commissioner of pardons and paroles, regarding the practical operation of the Cuthbertson act, which makes prison terms mandatory for all offenders against the prohibition law, apparently is designed to show that the statute is unenforcable, and is a failure.

Mr. Wood says that prosecutors are refusing to act in liquor law cases because of the severity of the punishment provided, that judges are throwing such cases out of court whenever a possible excuse is found to allow a dismissal, that police officers are hesitating to make arrests, and that the whole state enforcement machinery is breaking down.

What the commissioner asserts is a severe arraignment of the law enforcement agencies of Michigan, rather than a constructive criticism of the Cuthbertson law. In substance, Mr. Wood charges that prosecuting officers and judges are habitually refusing to do their plain duty and are deliberately violating their oaths of office, and that discouraged by their example, police officials have lost heart and are letting lawbreakers run wild. Mr. Wood's words are indicative of a need for a new set of public officials who have some sense of responsibility and are worth their salt, not of a need for modification of the law.

One of the constant efforts of the wets is to make it appear that conditions are worse under prohibition than before. The day before New Year's some of the Detroit papers quoted the law enforcement officers as saying that no special precautions would be taken, that they would depend only upon the ordinary forces and the usual methods. This was interpreted by some to mean a wide-open New Year's, but to the credit of Detroit be it said that exactly the con-

trary was true. Here is a notable front page item from the "Free Press" on New Year's day, "In the churches last night were large congregations. It is noticeable that the attendance in the churches was greater than in previous years. It would be a fine story to tell had the night clubs and hotels been strewn with drunks and super-optimists, but truth to tell, no more decorous places existed last night that these resorts of the more or less damned. It takes more than paper hats and card-board whistles to make whoopee and not all your souvenirs or table decorations turned one guest into a reveler. It is nice at this time of the year to write of Wassail and the flowing bowl, but why write of it when such things do not exist? Detroit, that is the fundamental part of Detroit, met 1930 with courage rather than with carelessness. In the whoopee joints police were there, strangely familiar, with derby hats and spats. They watched for signs of dereliction and found none. No church party could have been more decorous."

What are some of the issues which we must meet?

1. There is the hostile daily press.

In the last ten or fifteen years we have met a new situation in this regard. The day of independent journalism in the old sense has gone by. We now have chains of newspapers by which one owner or one company of owners reaches millions of readers in various parts of the country.

II. The wets have about given up any discussion of the values of prohibition. Their main drive is to make enforcement as difficult as possible and to try to show that this law never can be enforced. We must not allow the attention of the public to be diverted from the amazing values of prohibition. We must keep up our campaign of education. "The former days were better than these," they say. Let us see.

Take the state of Indiana as an illustration. Thirty years ago:

Ninety counties of the state had licensed saloons.

Only two counties were dry.

There was not a dry city in the state.

There were only 110 dry incorporated towns.

The population in dry territory was 810,000.

There were between 4,500 and 5,000 licensed saloons in the state.

Seventy-five percent of the drug stores of the state were selling liquor illegally.

There were red-light districts in every city and in some of the towns. Every immoral resort was a blind tiger. There were so many blind tigers in the state that in 1907 the legislature passed a special blind tiger law to get rid of some of them.

There were large distilleries: two at Lawrenceburg, one at Tell City, one at Terre Haute, one at Vincennes; and one at Hammond—all running to capacity in the manufacture of whisky; then so widely demanded by drinkers.

There were very large breweries in operation: two in Evansville, one in Vincennes, one in Terre Haute, four in Indianapolis, two in Fort Wayne, one in South Bend—all manufacturing beer. There were small breweries at La Porte, Columbia City, Huntington, Marion, Muncie, Cambridge City, Aurora, Lafayette, Madison, Washington, and probably in some other cities—all doing large business.

The brewers' big horses could be seen every day in the streets of all our cities hauling truck loads of beer from the breweries and the warehouses to the saloons and the homes of the people and carrying the empty containers back to the breweries.

It was the custom for some to entertain with wine, and especially on New Year's day keep open house where the young men were expected to

call, and in each house drink a glass of wine. Thousands of young men found these open houses a pit-fall for their destruction.

The saloon was the rendezvous of the politicians, where they met and determined on the nominees of the parties or the candidates that should be elected and where they laid out their plans for corrupting the electorate and stealing the elections. Politicians sought the vote of the saloon element and used large quantities of liquor for campaigns in order to win the vote of the liquor crowd and the drinking men. It is an amazing fact to us in this day that some of the churches had brewers, distillers, and even saloonkeepers on their Official Boards.

Drunkards were seen every day on our streets and tragedies were so common that they attracted little attention.

Now, for more than twelve years I have had parts of the State of Indiana within my Episcopal Area. I have traveled over that state, east, west, north, and south. My wife's home was in the center of that state, and her father helped to drive thirteen saloons out of the little college town of Greencastle. I have traveled north, south, east, and west during the last five years but I have not seen a brewery; I have never seen an open saloon; and so far as I can recall I have seen no drunken men. I can give personal testimony to the complete transformation.

But once more, since September first of this year I have traveled from Detroit to the Pacific Coast and back, and through the middle west as I held conferences in Iowa. I have traveled about ten thousand miles. I have been in Chicago, Des Moines, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, Tacoma, Seattle, and in various other cities. I have been a week at a time in the cities like San Francisco, Portland and Seattle. I have been driven around those cities. My work has taken me out on the streets sometimes in the early morning, then during the business hours of the day, and most of the time at night sessions of meetings with which I was connected. I have had my eyes open. In all that travel I have never seen a brewery or distillery in operation. I have never seen an open saloon. I have never seen a hotel with a bar. I have never seen a hotel serving liquor. In a three-day trip down the Saint Lawrence River in Canada in July I saw more liquor served openly and lavishly than I have seen served in the ten years of prohibition in the United States. Again and again in these American hotels I have found a card in my room warning against infractions of the prohibition law and urging observance thereof—a thing unheard of fifteen years ago. In all this ten thousand miles of travel I have not seen a drunken man. I have heard about bootleggers and speakeasies. I have heard about drinking among various classes but if it goes on, it goes on in the dark and it is done in the spirit of outlawry.

Now, I know there are some infractions of the law; there are occasionally loud and lawless parties afflicting certain hotels—I heard of one such in Ohio last fall; there are those who indulge and patronize the bootlegger; there are those who think it a mark of independence to follow the lead of those misguided citizens who keep up anti-prohibition agitation; it is said that there are those who bring liquor across the new Windsor-Detroit bridge concealed in their automobile tires; there are ingenious fellows who play all sorts of tricks, but will any sane man try to convince any intelligent and unprejudiced electorate that these are to be compared with such conditions as prevailed in Indiana thirty years ago when the saloon was in its heyday? It is really ridiculous for anybody to talk about such a thing. Conditions have changed. The country is better. A thousand voices proclaim it.

III. We have a great effort to magnify "dry killings," the slaughter of government officers, everything that can be twisted into a seeming objection to prohibition. We find it almost impossible to get our side of the case into the

metropolitan press, and certain papers and magazines daily pour out volumes of prejudiced propaganda, but I trust the sober sense of honest American citizenship to face the issue and I can clearly understand why for six successive Congresses each one has been drier than the preceding one. We must be alert to keep it so, and the program to be followed must include the following items:

IV. (a) We must stand fast.

(b) We must educate.

(c) We must meet the hostile agitation with counter information.

(d) We must adopt a new and attractive method of getting facts to the people, such as the radio, the moving-picture, the pageant, chart exhibitions, and so forth, and so forth.

(e) We must in a kindly and a sympathetic way get the facts into the mind and heart of those men from other lands who dwell among us. In the main they are open to conviction and there should be earnest and persistent work among them.

(f) The churches must see that all their members are guiltless in the matter of law observance and in their attitude toward this great reform.

(g) We must develop a new standard of patriotism.

(h) We must stand by the President of the United States who has put himself and his powerful influence into this movement.

(i) We must see that our workers who take the brunt of criticism as fanatics, hair-brained individuals, and often the violence of the opposition, are properly encouraged and have funds sufficient to carry on the work which they must carry on at a great cost.

(j) Finally, we must never lose faith in our cause. There can be little doubt that God is on our side. This is one of the greatest reforms of the ages. Reforms move slowly. They usually have backward eddies now and then, but with faith in our cause, faith in our country, and faith in our God we shall triumph.

A NEW MASS MOVEMENT

Rev. James K. Shields, D.D.

Superintendent, New Jersey Anti-Saloon League

The Eighteenth Amendment is the capstone of a pyramid of legislative enactments brought about by mass movements. These movements represented "The Voice of the People," which has ever been, and ever will be, to politicians, legislators and public officials "The Voice of God." It is the only voice in a republic or democracy that speaks from the throne and is ex cathedra.

On the liquor traffic this voice was first heard in the local communities and then from larger and larger units of government until it became "The Voice of the Nation."

The members of our State and National Legislatures heard it and acted. Our task today is to let the public law enforcement officials, both large and small, hear it, and they will obey. The question is—can it be done? The answer —what has been, can be.

Will the American people, who have solemnly decreed that no man shall be licensed to prey upon and make merchandise out of the weaknesses of his fellow creatures, stand complacently by and permit those of the same sinister elements of society, be they individuals or groups, to carry on their traffic in open defiance of both law and Constitution? We do not believe it.

For ten years we have been attempting to enforce the law by a method that begins at the top of the pyramid and works towards the base or foundation. It has the majority of a national edict, and has been, at times, spectacular. Large

national appropriations of money have been made and still larger sums are proposed. But the great masses of the people, instead of operating themselves to enforce the law, have been operated upon. With all due appreciation for the services that have been rendered and the work that has been done, we should, nevertheless, realize that the same masses, whose decree the edict is, will sooner or later have to enforce the edict.

Power comes from the many, not from the few, and from the standpoint of numbers alone, the weakness of the present method is at once apparent. For every Federal enforcement officer, there are hundreds of State officers; for every State officer, there are thousands of municipal officers; for every Federal Court, there are tens of State courts, and for every State court, there are scores of police courts; yet under the system now operating for the last ten years, the Federal courts and officials have been left practically alone to bear the burden of enforcement. Under such conditions, the success of prohibition has been little short of marvelous.

It is but natural for law enforcement officials to feel, primarily and almost exclusively, responsibility for those laws and ordinances represented by the badge they wear, and since there are usually no local ordinances against the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquor, this most numerous groups of all officials of the law, the local police, whose travelled beats cover our cities and our villages like a network, feel but slightly, if at all, any responsibility for the enforcement of Prohibition.

Let each city and village pass an ordinance prohibiting the manufacture, sale and transportation of intoxicating liquor with proper penalties, and empowering and instructing the police to apprehend the violators of such an ordinance, bring them into the local police court where the magistrate can deal with them directly, more will be accomplished in one year to make "the noble experiment" a success than all the investigating commissions of Congress can do in ten.

Here is a chance for a new mass movement; in fact, these local ordinances themselves will never be passed in any great number until first the demand for their passage is created by local public sentiment. Boards of Aldermen or City Commissions are not looking for more trouble; in most cases, they are looking for an alibi for not enforcing the law. We seem to have forgotten today that no local option law was ever passed by a Legislature, nor was the Prohibition resolution ever passed by Congress until massed public sentiment convinced these representatives of the people that it was a demand that could no longer be ignored.

Speaking recently before a large gathering on the subject of "The Supremacy of Law," Branch Rickey, Vice President and Manager of the St. Louis Cardinals National Baseball Club, said:

"Prohibition will be a battle instead of a victory until men and women are willing to devote themselves thoroughly to the cause of law and order and decency. As the athlete trains and denies himself for victory, as the hero sacrifices comfort and safety and even life itself, those who are dead in earnest about Prohibition must give up comfort and ease and complacency—they must 'pay the price.'"

If the drys of any community, men and women, would form themselves into a committee, a law enforcement league, or a dry federation, or under any other good title, in numbers ranging from 50 to 1,000 in proportion to the size of the locality, and then demand through their executive committees representing them or as a whole, the passage of these ordinances, they, in most cases, will be passed, and with the federation remaining organized, they will be enforced. Such an organization would not be expected to handle the bigger and more difficult

cases that would naturally go to the State or Federal authorities, but it is the gnats and mosquitoes that drive people to distraction, and it is the little speakeasies, blind pigs and bootleggers that are doing more to break down the morale of this movement than anything else. We believe that this method of local self government and law enforcement will not only lay the foundation of the greatest possible success, but that such local organizations in and of themselves will become the very bulwark of defense against the flood of lawlessness that is now sweeping over the country.

(For copy of ordinance referred to, see New Jersey State Report.)

PROHIBITION AND THE HOME

Rev. Homer W. Tope, D.D.

Superintendent, Pennsylvania Anti-Saloon League

The hearth and home have ever been the centers of our racial life. The first impulses of budding childhood, youth's opportunity to profit by the experience of age, religion's largest opportunity are all found here, where those ripe in years make their provision for the continuity of life by passing on the torch of righteousness to generations which succeed them. And when society is renewed, its renewal also begins in the individual home. Henry Ford was right when he recently reminded us—"Prohibition began at home with women who wanted better home conditions. They got it and the better home conditions with it." This was not accidental. As the new spirit passes from family to family, like a torch passed to light the flames on hearth after hearth, the progressive social movements of the world take their form, eventually to express themselves through larger organizations, to eventuate in necessary legislation and, ultimately, to become a part of the accepted social practice of the age

Nineteen hundred years ago the wisest of the east adopted Emerson's advice and "hitched their wagon to a star" that was to lead them to the ideal family life; but they lost the star, endangered themselves and indirectly caused destruction in many homes in Bethlehem because they sojourned in Herod's palace. Stars and Herods do not go together; neither does the American home and the Herod of liquor. Probably no more cynical suggestion has ever been made by the foes of the Eighteenth Amendment who, recalling the bitter popular opposition to any return of the licensed saloon, now suggest the sale of beverages to be drunk at home. The pollution of this shrine, the desecration of the primary unit on which civilization is based, the prostitution of the temple of childhood—the cradle of the race, seems to weigh less with these bitter foes of civilization's new crusade than does the satisfaction of their own appetite or their greed for the unholy profits of the traffic in alcoholic beverages. If this be the best alternative to our "noble experiment of prohibition" then the fight is well nigh over and the enemy have confessed defeat. The American people will not go back to Herod.

The home has altered greatly since prohibition came. The sad example set the younger generation by those who should have profited by experience—the fruit of years, will not be without its evil effect upon those not yet arrived at the age of citizenship. And yet the most hopeful thing is the known revolution in the American home since the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment. The old-time slum, the crowded alley tenement, the vilely dirty rooms in which whole families crowded for lack of other lodging, have been cleared out with the disappearance of the saloon. They were a part of its shadow, they could flourish only under its wings. Now in their place one finds new, clean, hopeful homes springing up by uncounted thousands. The tremendous boom in home building and home owning which characterized the decade since the adoption of the

Eighteenth Amendment is unparalleled in our history. The money formerly spent over the bar is now buying cottages or paying rent for decent homes in which children may be reared. And not least is the economic value to the nation, for not only our building trades but our furniture stores, our retail trade, and the whole category of those who provide raw material out of which a home is built, have felt this new impulse.

Nor is this all. There is a different attitude toward life, a new hopefulness, a dawn of finer ambitions—that "noble discontent" which makes each generation seek finer things than its predecessors knew or dreamed, that are the secondary fruits of this resurgence of the old home building impulse. Out of this has come the desire for larger education, driving to the doors of our colleges multitudes of youth who before would have been doomed to the factory at an early age, limited in their outlook, hemmed in by petty tasks, ill paid and without a future. We cannot estimate fully the influence of those new higher standards of living made possible to the masses by the Eighteenth Amendment. As Emerson keenly phrased it: "What you are shouts so loudly that I cannot hear what you say."

Much of the evil which accompanied the pre-prohibition period and its over-indulgence in alcoholic beverages were due to the false stamp of respectability which we accorded the liquor traffic by the license system. We are heirs today of much of that evil influence but it is lessening. A great deal of our present trouble is due to this "hang-over" from our past misconduct on this question.

Yet, today, the whole atmosphere is different. Liquor, once legalized, is now clandestine; once challenging, is now furtive; once reaching out its sinister hand even toward the ermine of the bench and corrupting voters, office-holders, and administrators, is today on the defensive, its back to the wall. Because there is a bounty on the wolf's scalp, he is seeking to don sheep's clothing and would persuade us of his own sheeplike harmlessness.

How long this victory will be maintained depends upon how thoroughly we inform the younger generation of the issues hidden behind the smoke screen of propaganda issuing steadily from the brewers, the vintners, the liquor group. Eternal vigilance is still the price of liberty—vigilance and our faith in the God of better things. With John Oxenham we agree:

"No more shall wrong
The world's gross agonies prolong—
The coming of the perfect day
Shall sweep the Powers of Night away;
And Faith replumed for nobler flight
And Hope aglow with radiance bright,
And Love, in loveliness bedight
Shall greet the morning light."

THURSDAY EVENING SESSION

THE UNFINISHED BATTLE

Colonel Frank B. Ebbert, Los Angeles, Cal.

There are many phases of this contest against the outlawed liquor traffic that I wish I had time to discuss tonight. I am going to confine what I have to say, to just one phase of this question and that I will discuss very briefly. It is the fight that we face now to save prohibition. There is probably no single issue today before this country on which you will find a greater confusion of thought, more loose, careless, indefinite thinking, than you will on this issue of prohibition. Never in the history of this contest have the wets of this country been more determined, more aggressive, or have their activities been more far-reaching, than they are at this hour. I am not a pessimist. I do not believe any

one has ever charged me with that; but I want to say to this audience tonight that no one today who is truly familiar with the far-reaching effect of this wet propaganda we face at this hour would attempt to predict what the final outcome of this great contest may be.

In many respects the wets have a distinct advantage at this time, first, in the fact of the attitude of the great metropolitan city newspapers all over this country, which is bitterly opposed to the American prohibition policy. This great metropolitan press daily in its editorial columns, even in its news items, is pounding and pounding on the proposition, never letting up for a single issue, on the thought that America cannot enforce her prohibition policy and that we never will enforce this law until first we show just a little common sense and agree to a reasonable modification of the law. Well, when you stop to think that this great metropolitan press is read by tens of millions of people in this country every day, and that is not an exaggerated statement, and you will find the thinking of millions of these readers colored very largely on any public question by what they read from day to day in their newspapers, it will give you some definite idea of the magnitude of this contest we face at this time.

The wets at present, apparently, have all the money they need to carry on their propaganda in an effort to change public sentiment on this issue. I am not guessing when I make the statement deliberately that a very large percent of the money used every day in this country in an effort to change public sentiment on this great issue is coming directly from the liquor interests of Europe. Those interests admit it, hence it is not a debatable question. Why should the liquor interests of Europe spend their money here in America to change public opinion on our prohibition policy? The answer to that question is very simple. Those interests realize that if prohibition succeeds here, which after all is the great experimental field on this question for all the world—if we succeed, every civilized nation under heaven is going to be driven to adopt prohibition in self-defense, for no drunken or half-drunken nation will ever be able to compete with sober America in the markets of this world. That is rapidly becoming a self-evident fact.

This is purely an economic question. The liquor interests of Europe realize what the success of this movement means to them. It is utterly impossible for any one today to declare with even a reasonable degree of accuracy what the probable consumption of intoxicating liquors may be in America under prohibition. There is no way the amount can be measured, therefore these estimates you hear are very largely guess work. On the othr hand, it is the best judgment of those well fitted to express an opinion on that point, those who have made a nation-wide survey of the true facts that with all the violations of this law we face, and we admit they are very many, that the amount of liquor today consumed in this country as a whole is not ten percent of what the amount would be if we were to go back to the old saloon system. If that conclusion be correct, then under our present policy we today enjoy 90 percent prohibition in this country. If that be true, I submit to you tonight, as intelligent men and women, it would come nearer to a solution of this liquor question than has ever been reached by any people throughout the history of time.

Another interesting angle to the situation is in the character of the new wet leadership we are facing. It is not the old brewer, or distiller, or saloonkeeper, that is attempting today to change public opinion in America on this question. That crowd is apparently entirely out of this picture. The new wet leadership is composed of men high in the national industrial affairs of this country—such men as Pierre S. duPont, ex-United States Senator Wadsworth, and many others whom I might name—men who have demonstrated their exceptional organizing and executive ability. These are men with very large independent per-

sonal wealth, and they do not hesitate to spend their personal fortunes in an effort to change public opinion in America on the prohibition law. That statement can readily be proved. You go down to Washington to the proper department, and you will find the financial statement showing that during the year 1928 Mr. Raskob personally spent over $300,000 in an effort to change public opinion on prohibition, while duPont spent over $100,000.

There is one angle to this present situation that I admit to you tonight, to me is indeed distressing. It is terribly depressing. I rather expect the statement I am about to make will surprise many of you, for I would imagine that the splendid communities from which the majority of you come, would not come in contact with those phases of the problem. You must come to the great cities of this country to meet this condition. In the course of a year it is my pleasure to talk to close to 100,000 boys and girls in the public schools of this country, on this question. You simply cannot come in contact with those boys and girls of ours in the great metropolitan centers of this country without being astounded, simply astounded, to hear them laugh, hear them sneer, hear them ridicule prohibition. It is simply amazing. Now do not misunderstand me. I do not charge that they are drinking. Frankly, I think the percentage of them that actually drink the stuff is so small that in no case would it be considered a problem. It is their personal attitude of ridicule against the law. Ninety-nine percent of them have never seen a saloon. They do not know the first thing about it. I do not know where they are getting their propaganda from. I have tried hard to trace it down and put my hand on it. I cannot quite touch it. Sometimes I think I can almost touch it, then it is gone. But this I know, in some very definite, systematic, exceedingly well-organized way this propaganda of jeers and ridicule against the American prohibition policy is deliberately fed to these boys and girls in the great city centers of our country today. This is a serious charge, but I make it deliberately. You will understand the purpose of it, how far-reaching it may be in its effect, what may ultimately be gained through it, when I say to you we have today in the public schools of this country very close to thirty millions of boys and girls. No nation throughout the history of time has ever written such a story along educational lines as we are writing today in America under prohibition. Over one million of these boys and girls reach the voting age every twelve months in this country. Before another national general election involving the selection of a President will have rolled around, over four millions of these boys and girls, many of them standing today for the Al Smith vote in the last presidential election will have reached the voting age. There is your balance of power on this question.

I must make a statement that will absolutely astound you—do you know today in America, probably the most enlightened, the most civilized, the most God-fearing nation in the history of time—today in this America that we love so well, there are over twenty millions of boys and girls under the age of 21 that do not receive one word of religious instruction. Yet tomorrow we turn this government over to these boys and girls. Tomorrow they become the legal voters of America. Tomorrow they determine the future policy of this nation. I want to say in all fairness, first, that I have utterly no sympathy with this constant nagging and criticizing of the so-called modern youth. I have a wonderful opportunity to come in contact with them. Never in the history of America have we had a more wonderful group of young people than you will find today in our land. There are exceptions to the rule, it is true, but if you will let your memory carry you back a few short years, possibly you may recall an exception in your younger days.

If you can only take the truth to the boys and girls! You cannot go to the boys and girls of today dealing in generalities, and ask that they follow you.

They will not do it. They demand a reason. You must give them the facts. If we can lay these few simple fundamental facts on the soul of every boy and girl in America today, first, that the base of intoxicating liquor is alcohol; that alcohol is a habit-forming drug; that it is a poison; that we cannot take it into our systems over a given period of time without being dragged down—this further truth, that respect for law is the very basic foundation principle on which any nation may hope to live; without it, you perish; if we lay these few simple truths on the soul of every boy and girl in America, prohibition is in no danger, but if we fail at that point, there is no power under heaven, in my judgment, that will ultimately save this law to our country.

We dare not, dare not, stop where we stand, today, in this fight. If we were to stop fighting tonight, on the theory that we have gotten our objective, we have won this thing, if we were to take that position and quit, as I see it, there is no power under heaven that could save prohibition to this country. My appeal to you is to realize it, and I call to you tonight to rededicate yourselves, tc finish this unfinished contest. Help us to get the truth upon this question to every boy and girl, to every man and woman in America.

PROHIBITION AFTER TEN YEARS

ERNEST H. CHERRINGTON, LL.D.,

General Secretary, World League Against Alcoholism; Director, Department of Education, Publicity and Research, Anti-Saloon League of America

There are certain fundamental principles that form the foundation of prohibition and at the same time present the foundation for every argument that can be made for prohibition as a policy of government in dealing with the beverage alcohol problem. The first one is this: The highest law is the public good. That is in harmony with the definition which the great statesman, Gladstone, gave when he said that the purpose of government is to make it easy for men to do right and difficult for men to do wrong. And it is in harmony with that great legal authority, Blackstone, who in his remarkable definition of municipal law said, "Municipal law is a rule of civil conduct, prescribed by the supreme power of the state, commanding what is right and prohibiting what is wrong."

The second one of these great principles is this: There is no such thing in modern civilization as a necessary evil. If it is necessary, it is not evil; if it is evil, it is not necessary.

The third one is this: that personal liberty is in reality least where there is no law and no government and that personal liberty is greatest where the strictest inhibitions are invoked, observed and enforced against anti-social acts and anti-social customs.

The fourth one is one to which we do not give the necessary attention today and that is, that the only alternative of governmental prohibition of the beverage liquor traffic is governmental sanction of that traffic.

Ten years ago today there went into effect that which Professor Carver of Harvard University has described as the greatest social experiment of modern times; but he might well have added to that definition that the Eighteenth Amendment was also the greatest political adventure in the history of free government and he might have added that that amendment is the greatest constructive policy ever attempted by any government. He might have added further that the Eighteenth Amendment was in reality the greatest moral project undertaken on a nation-wide scale to apply the great principles of the social gospel to the solution of the social problems of the race. Now after ten years of experience under prohibition we are facing a situation which

was described to you in the words of Colonel Ebbert, where in practically all the great cities of the nation there is something of a fog that hangs low on this celebration day. Smoke and dust are in the air. Hundreds of columns of newspaper space on this day, the 16th of January, in the metropolitan press, are given over to the demonstration of the failure of prohibition and here are many voices that produce such a confusion today that there are some who cannot see clearly, that there are many who are not sure about the way, and that there are some who have in reality lost the road.

I recall a story that is told of ancient Rome. When the great Carthaginian army was encamped without the walls of that great city and there was hysteria and fear within the walls, down in the market place of the Forum, the excited and fearful owner of the ground without the walls on which the Carthaginian army was encamped, put up the land and sold it at auction to the highest bidder. But there were some within the walls of that old city who were not disturbed by the psychology of fear, who knew something of faith and when that land on which the army of Carthage was encamped was put up for sale under these trying conditions and sold at auction it brought a little better price than the expected market price of the land. So today in this country of ours, when there is excitement and fear and hysteria and doubt in some quarters, there is represented in this convention, that in turn represents the sentiment of the vast majority of the people of the nation, the kind of faith which on the success ultimately of this great policy of prohibition is willing to wager our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

Ten years of prohibition—national prohibition. As we think of this anniversary the question that comes is not so much a question as to what has been done, nor even a question as to where do we stand, but the real question after all is, in what direction are we moving? Where is the trend? Which way does the logic of events point? I know that the newspaper headlines and the gossip on the corners and the talk in the lobbies of the hotels suggest what they do suggest, and they paint a picture of conditions under prohibition that is a dark picture, with the bootlegger and the rum-runner and the hip-pocket flasks and the drinking of young women and girls and corruption in government and the failure of enforcement, men going back on their oaths of office, and all that sort of thing. It's a dark picture and it's a picture that we must face and deal with. And yet in spite of that picture with all the ugly facts that it presents there is another picture and it's the picture of yesterday, when almost 200,000 saloons operated on the principal streets and the principal corners of the great cities of this nation. When the liquor traffic was driven out of the rural districts, with two-thirds of the population of the nation under prohibition, it was finally demonstrated that in the great cities of the nation with all the efforts that had been used to deal with the liquor traffic in that city, not one of these efforts had ever mitigated in any degree the evils of the beverage liquor traffic in those great cities. On the contrary, the growth in the liquor traffic in those cities was so great that all the decrease in the rural districts and in two-thirds of the states of the nation was overcome by the climbing figures of the consumption of intoxicating liquors in the great cities of the nation. And we had reached the place—so that picture shows—where we were consuming as a people each year 60 millions of gallons of wine and 160 millions of gallons of whisky, and more than two thousand millions of gallons of beer, and that means that if you took the whole United States that we were consuming on the average, not a few hip-pocket flasks of liquor—but an average of more than 20 gallons of intoxicating liquors for every man, woman and child in the nation. If you take the largest estimate of the drinkers of that day, leaving out the children and at least a good portion of the women, 25 millions of drink-

ers, you would find that the average per drinker per year was between 90 and 100 gallons of intoxicating liquors. That refers, let me remind you, only to the liquors gauged by the government or kept account of in the Internal Revenue Department of the government. It did not have anything to do with the moonshine in that great territory in the mountains of the south, with over six millions of people who live there, with the old story of the moonshine days. It was legal liquor. Talk about corruption! The greatest, the most corrupt political machine that this world has ever seen, was builded in these cities yesterday upon the saloon as a foundation, depending entirely upon the liquor traffic for its existence. And ever since the day when the Eighteenth Amendment went into effect every Tammany, from New York down to the smallest Tammany in any city of this nation has felt the blight; not one of those political machines has been so powerful and influential as it was before that day.

Roger Babson says that the way to get the trend is not by comparing one year with another, but it is to take the long curve. After all, what is the factor of time in a great social reform for the eradication of a great social evil that has been a part of civilization for a thousand years? So if we want to find the evidence of the trend of today we must take into account not the campaigns, not the elections here and there only, not the weeks or the months or the years; we must take into account the decades, the generations and the centuries.

The program of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment today is a wonderful advance over the program of the leading temperance organizations of a hundred years ago. I think one of the greatest evidences of the progress of this great reform moving steadily toward a sober nation is the significant fact that the wets have been gradually converted to the programs of the drys. In the beginning, when the drys, as we call them today, started out and proposed to deal with the liquor traffic by the suggestion of regulation, the wets were against them; they said that the liquor traffic ought to be as open and free as the grocery business. Then after a while the next step came, for taxation to make the liquor traffic do something in the way of taking care of the evils that it created. The liquor traffic—the wets—were against that, but by that time they had reached the place where they were in favor of regulation. Then the temperance forces made a campaign for beer and wine as a temperance proposition in order to wean the nation away from stronger liquors. The liquor interests, which were the great distilling interests of that day, were against that, but they were in favor of taxation at that time. The temperance forces moved on to high license, and the liquor interests opposed that but had finally become converted to the idea of beer and wine along with the other measures. Then, all through the south, Government Control had its day, promoted by the drys of the south as a temperance measure and adopted in those states by counties and villages and towns and by states such as South Carolina. The liquor interests were all against that; but by that time they had reached the place where they were in favor of license. Local option came. They were against that, but they were in favor of Government Control. And then state option, and the wets became interested in the principle of home rule for villages and townships; and then national prohibition became the program of the drys and the wets became the belated champions of the principle of states' rights. Now after ten years—why, only yesterday, as you remember, the principal argument against prohibition by the wets of yesterday was the argument that the saloon was "the poor man's club," and they were standing for the poor man; and yet after ten years only, the leaders of the wets come along and say, "yes, the drys were right, the saloon was a bad thing; we are glad it is gone. We don't want it back; all

we want is beer and wine." In a hundred years the temperance forces of this country have had nine major programs, and out of the nine, the liquor interests themselves, by the evidence of their own declarations, for the most part just one lap behind, have favored 87 per cent of the temperance programs of the last one hundred years.

The very great evidence of the progress of this reform is to be found in another significant fact, and that is the diminishing strength of the liquor interests, through the years, and of all that is involved in the words "the liquor interests." I note the headlines in the papers, and yet if you want to get at the proposition as to just what is happening and what the trend is, you cannot do better than to take the official record. I think that the greatest illustration, since the founding of this country, of how far the Constitution of the United States goes in the protection of minorities principle is to be found in the experiences of the last 25 years in the fight for national prohibition. For forty years down at Washington there was the greatest lobby the country ever saw, before Congress, stemming the tide, watching everything that was being done, on the alert every minute in that forty years—and why was it that they were so confident? They knew better than anyone else knew, that their hope was in the minority protection principle of the Constitution of the United States, and they knew that so long as they could hold just one more than one-third of the membership of either house of Congress, they were perfectly safe, that national prohibition could never be adopted. They were confident, but the time came when they could not even hold that minority, and the Eighteenth Amendment was submitted to the Legislatures of the states. Even then they were cocksure as to what was to happen. They had no real fear as to what would happen in the sessions of the Legislatures because they depended upon the minority protection provisions of the Constitution of the United States and they knew that all they had to hold even after the Eighteenth Amendment was submitted to the Legislatures of the states, was one house in each of thirteen State Legislatures. That was all! Think of it! That is what the Constitution did for the liquor interests in the protection of minorities. There are two legislative houses in each state; 96 in the 48 states, and the two legislative bodies at Washington. That makes 98. But all they had to hold out of the 98 legislative bodies that represented doubly the entire population of the United States, by districts and by states, and by legislative districts and Senatorial districts in the states, all they had to hold out of the 98 was just 13. If the temperance forces had been able to muster 85 out of the 98 and they had held 13, just one in each of 13 states, national prohibition would not be a part of the Constitution today. But did they hold 13? After all the noise of the battle and all the tests of strength and all the efforts to throw fear into the ranks of the drys, when the count was taken, out of those 98 legislative bodies, state and national, the liquor interests of the nation had held just three. Ninety-five of those legislative bodies, representing directly the people of those states, voted for the adoption of national prohibition.

There has been a majority increasingly for prohibition for 20 years. Ten Congresses have been elected in the last 20 years, and every one of those ten Congresses without exception has had a larger majority for prohibition than any previous Congress. The diminishing strength of the liquor interests points the direction of the trend. But there is another evidence, and a remarkable evidence at that, of the progress of this movement toward the goal, and that is that the temperance fanaticism of yesterday has become the common sense of today. The Governor here remembers in the last five General Conferences of the Church that he has attended, with seven to eight hundred or eight hundred and fifty delegates, each time whenever the proposition of prohibition or

a whack at the liquor traffic has been up in any of those five General Conferences in twenty years that General Conference has voted for the proposition unanimously; and yet, in 1812 in the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church to which he belongs, at its session in the city of Boston, there was presented to that session of the General Conference of the M. E. Church a proposition prohibiting a minister of the Methodist Church from selling intoxicating liquors at retail without losing his ministerial character, and the General Conference then was made up of preachers—there were no worldly laymen in that crowd at all—but when that proposition was presenttd to the General Conference of 1812 what happened? The General Conference promptly voted down the resolution. Four years later, when the same resolution was presented, before it could be passed, it had to go back to the committee and be changed so that when it came back again the brethren in the General Conference were informed that if they voted for it it would not interfere with the sale of beer and wine. You talk about the fanaticism of today. So far as the public generally was concerned the fanaticism of today is nothing like the fanaticism of yesterday.

When the first temperance society in this country was organized—the Billy Clark Society in New York—what was its purpose? You can find in some of the libraries today copies of the constitution and by-laws of that old society, that are very short and to the point. They provide that members of this temperance society shall not be permitted to drink to excess anywhere except at a public dinner; that if any member of the society shall drink to excess anywhere except at a public dinner he shall be fined 25 cents; and if he drinks so to excess that he has to be carried home he is to be fined 50 cents! That was the fanaticism of yesterday.

One of the greatest evidences that I know anything about, of the progress of this movement, is the inevitable trend today of the demands of this new age in which we live, with its requirements in the midst of high power and high speed and high tension and exactitude upon the men and women in industry, and increasingly so. Yet very little thought is given to that phase of the question by most of the people. We are all agreed, wets and drys alike, upon the proposition that the man who runs a railroad train as an engineer, must be a sober man. He has to obey "Rule G" of the railroad code, and by the way, one of the greatest total abstinence organizations among men in the world is the American Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. Why? Because of the demand for public safety. Wets and drys all agree on that; and yet did you ever stop to think, that that engineer does not have to guide his engine? He runs it on two steel rails and he is informed by signals all along the line as to whether, around the next curve, or a mile ahead, there is another engine on the same track. If in the interest of public safety, we are all agreed, that the railroad engineer must be sober, on duty and off duty, what about the right, what about the obligation of the American people to have something to say through their legislative bodies and their code as to more than 40 millions of automobile driving engineers, not running their engines on two steel rails but where the track in each case is determined by the slightest touch of that engineer on the wheel, who never knows what he is to strike around the next curve but who does know that when he starts to run his engine from the city of Detroit to the city of Chicago he must take into account the coming in contact with a thousand other engines running on the same track?

And yet, to my way of thinking, the greatest evidence of progress of this great movement toward national and world sobriety is to be found in the simple, significant fact that here, in a great nation of over a hundred millions of people,

where the use of liquor was a universal custom, with liquor everywhere, in the homes and in the church and in the courts, there could be created in a hundred years a public sentiment and a public conscience strong enough to write into the basic charter of the government such a thing as the Eighteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution. That is what education of one hundred years has done for the movement of sobriety. So you may paint the picture today as dark as you can paint it truthfully and yet the fact remains that only yesterday that thing we call the beverage liquor traffic in America was king in this country. It ruled with an iron hand. It dominated the political and social and economic life of the nation. It was dictator supreme; and today that thing which was king yesterday is a criminal before the bar, a fugitive from justice with a price upon its head; an outlaw, a hunted thing. And I say that that is evidence of the first quality of the trend of the movement for sobriety.

I saw a picture some years ago, which was a remarkable picture. It was the picture of a gray old negro of the "Uncle Tom's Cabin" type, a wonderful old fellow he was, who looked like as if he were about 90 years old. He was sitting in a great arm chair with a far-away look on his face, and standing right at his knee, and just about knee-high, was a little curly-haired pickaninny looking up into his face inquiringly and saying, "Grandpa, what was slavery?"

The day is rapidly dawning when in this country of ours—all over it—little children, white and black and of every color, will look up into the faces of grandparents by the millions and say, "Grandpa, what was the liquor traffic?"

FRIDAY MORNING SESSION

LOCAL ENFORCEMENT ORDINANCES AND ORGANIZATION

G. Rowland Munroe

Attorney, Anti-Saloon League of New Jersey

Americans greatly enjoy the great indoor sport of "passing the buck." This game, as applied to prohibition enforcement, consists in the municipal authorities blaming the county authorities for lax enforcement, and those of the county blaming the state, while the state, in turn, blames the Federal authorities.

Perhaps some day when the United States of the World is formed our Federal authorities can pass the blame to an International Court of Prohibition Technicalities.

What we really need is to develop a community conscience, and with it a community sense of privilege, responsibility and power on this matter.

In the last analysis the bootlegger is a local, a community problem. He is known to the police on the beat; his sphere of influence is local, and he should be dealt with locally, not be a millstone around the overburdened neck of the Federal officials. They must look after the larger problems: the big source of supply, the interstate shipments, the permit system for lawful makers and users of industrial alcohol, etc., but the local bootlegger should be the job of the local authorities.

In New Jersey we are making a drive to educate local sentiment to a realization of this fact; to an understanding of the power, obligation and privilege of the local municipality by means of the passage and enforcement of a local municipal ordinance, which makes it an offense against the municipality to bootleg liquor, just as another ordinance makes it an offense to spit on the sidewalk or to keep pigs on the main street, an offense, moreover, punishable in just the same manner, by the municipal police judge or recorder.

In New Jersey this is legally possible, as we have a state law permitting it.

Not every state is thus fortunate, but New Jersey has no patent on its Municipal Home Rule Act and your state may copy it without offending us a bit.

What we call the Home Rule Act provides that any municipality may adopt, amend and enforce an ordinance for any one of a long list of purposes. Among these purposes are to prevent vice, drunkenness, and immorality; to preserve the public peace and good order; to protect persons and property, and to preserve the public health, safety and prosperity; all of which certainly includes the right to legislate for the municipality against the manufacture, sale, transportation, use or possession of intoxicating liquor for beverage purposes.

Of course not every state has such difficulty as has New Jersey to get the County Prosecutor, Sheriff and Judge to act as if his oath of office means something when applied to the liquor traffic; and not every state has such experts as has New Jersey in some counties at drawing grand juries that will not indict and trial juries that will not convict, but I judge that few counties get as swift results, as simple and direct action as they would like. The law's delays are not only proverbial but they are prolific in breeding all kinds of legal ills. The enforcement of a local ordinance by a local magistrate leaves no reason or opportunity for delay or cumbersome detail. It brings prompt action and fixes direct responsibility.

To give a simple, concrete example of such an ordinance, as applied in New Jersey, let me relate one case.

In the town of Kearny speakeasies were numerous, wide open and defiant. A small group of women learned through the attorney for the Anti-Saloon League the possibilities of prompt, direct action through the adoption and enforcement of a local ordinance. They gained the cooperation of pastors and interested citizens, stormed a reluctant town council and secured the ordinance.

A few days later the Chief of Police called up your speaker and exultingly related that the night before, his men had visited an old-time bar, just across from Police Headquarters. His officials had bought liquor from the jeering proprietor, who knew the police were buying but had a feeling of entire security, since he had four or five times before been raided, but after the raid and his arrest each case had died in the hands of the County Prosecutor and the Grand Jury. So, feeling thus secure, the bootlegger had laughed at the police and let them buy to their heart's content.

But right here the analogy with his former experiences ceased. He failed to take into account the new town ordinance, backed by an aroused, organized public sentiment, and just there he stubbed his toe and fell and bloodied his nose. Within a half-hour his place had been raided, his liquor seized, and he himself tried by the Town Recorder, convicted, and he was on his way to serve thirty days in jail, after paying $100.00 fine.

A new order of things had been ushered in with the adoption of the Town ordinance. No longer was the municipality dependent on Uncle Sam's overworked little band at the State Prohibition headquarters; no longer was it at the mercy of indifferent and hostile county officials. Kearny had the power to protect itself and could have just as much immunity from local bootleggers as it chose.

I do not pretend that the adoption of such an ordinance will, of itself, exterminate the local bootleg vermin. It is not a remedy that works while the community sleeps. Rat poison will kill rats, if properly used, but its mere presence in the house kills no rats. I do contend, however, that if a community wants to get rid of its liquor vermin here is a simple, prompt and sovereign remedy.

A Frenchman sold his wares—"Ze powdair for ze flea"—to a thrifty housewife. A few days later, by mistake, he cried his wares through the same street, and was confronted by his irate customer. When charged with selling an in-

effective remedy he blandly explained that the trouble was not with the remedy but with the failure to properly apply it. "First you catch ze flea," he patiently explained: "You tickle hees reebs—he open hees mouth; zen you poke zee powdair down hees throat. By-gar, he choke!"

ENFORCEMENT UNDER A STATE PROHIBITION LAW

Rev. Arthur H. Briggs, D.D.

Superintendent, Anti-Saloon League of California

The unit of enforcement under a State Law is the County.

Every County is just as clean as it wants to be. If any County is not as clean as it ought to be, there is just one reason for it, it does not really want to be any cleaner than it is.

Three officers determine how clean the County shall be. These officers are the sheriff, the district attorney and judge. Given the right kind of a sheriff, district attorney and judge, and you have the right kind of a County.

Take the sheriff; it is the duty of the sheriff to get the law violator and turn him over to the justice. Some law violators are hard to get. The burglar for instance has no base, no fixed point of departure. He is elusive, it is hard to get him. But the bootlegger has a base from which he operates. There is not a persistent bootlegger in any county that a competent sheriff does not know all about. He can get him any time he wants him. If in any County there is a persistent bootlegger out of jail, in that County there is a sheriff who ought to lose his star.

Or take the district attorney—it is the duty of the district attorney to prepare the case and prosecute the bootlegger. If a district attorney does not put thorns in the path of the transgressor by pleading second and third offenses then there is a district attorney who would serve his community better in private life.

Or take the judge—the judge is on the bench to make crime just as unpleasant and unprofitable as possible within the law. The judge who imposes nugatory sentences should be relieved of judicial responsibility.

Two agencies are helpful in ascertaining and securing efficiency. The first of these is the grand jury. Let me show you how this works.

In a certain County there was a question but not certainty as to the faithfulness of a competent sheriff. It looked as though he were blind in one eye and could not see both sides of the political street. A grand jury was appointed with particular reference to this situation. The sheriff was called in and asked this question: "Is there a persistent bootlegger in this county who can stand all the hammering you can give him?" The answer was, "No." "Then why are there persistent bootleggers in the county?" The sheriff answered that there were joints which served none but known customers into which his men could not get for evidence. He was asked, "Should you place an officer at the door of these joints every hour in the twenty-four to take the names of men who entered, how long would the joint last?" The sheriff replied that they would not last very long. Then said the grand jury, "Mr. Sheriff, go out and do your duty." This conversation was given to the people of that county in the report of the grand jury, and the people knew that their sheriff would do his duty or lose his job.

The second agency is the draft. The draft can be used as effectively in civil service as in war. Let me show you how this works.

Governor A. J. Wallace 'phoned me from Los Angeles to San Francisco that the Lieutenant Governor wanted to see me. With Governor Wallace I went into the Lieutenant Governor's office. The Lieutenant Governor said some

things about Los Angeles County that were not flattering. It was not the fault of the people he said, but of the District Attorney's office, which was rotten. He told us that he would be urged to run for District Attorney, and asked us what we thought about it. We told him that he was Lieutenant Governor elected by the largest majority ever given a candidate for public office in the history of California. From where he was, ran a straight road to the Governorship, and from the Governorship a highway to the United States Senatorship. He was stepping down from a United States Senatorship to be District Attorney in one of the counties of California. What do you think he said? He said, "as a result of a wound received in the World War I have had twenty-four operations and am due for another. I don't know how long it will last. I am not concerned about political preferment, what I want to do is to build a monument for my conscience." And Buron Fitts laid the first great granite block of that monument when he sent his unfortunate but guilty predecessor to prison. Drafted by his country for war, he laid his life on the altar of his country and all but lost it. Drafted by his County for service, he responded in the same spirit and accepted the draft.

Given Buron Fitts as District Attorney in any County, flanked on the one hand by the right kind of a sheriff and on the other hand by the right kind of a judge, and we have a right kind of a County.

Here is the suggestion of means which if earnestly and intelligently used, will put spokes in the wheels of the bootleg chariot.

PADLOCKS AND PENALTIES

J. H. Collier

Attorney, Illinois Anti-Saloon League

The character of the penalties provided in our prohibition laws must be determined by the character of the enemies of society sought to be suppressed by them. The bootleggers and their allies of the underworld are striking at the very foundation of the Republic. They are organized for the express purpose of violating law. They have paid attorneys and carefully prearranged plans to forestall, and in case of detection, to evade the meshes of the law. They defy the Constitution and all authority. They assassinate citizens and officials who dare to interfere with them. When bull-dozing, blackmail and bribery fail, they resort to bombs and bullets. It isn't a very far cry from moonshining and rum running to murder and ruthless destruction of property. Every bootlegger is a potential murderer.

This kind of organized lawlessness cannot be suppressed by any namby-pamby, wishy-washy methods. Admonitions from courts, soft words, and fines will never do it.

The outstanding weakness in prohibition enforcement from the beginning has been the policy maintained by so many judges in meting out low fines instead of jail sentences. This policy is a direct invitation to the law violator to continue his nefarious traffic. Ordinary fines are an incentive to more selling to make the extra expense of the fine. To continue the fining policy which seems to be fixed on the part of many judges, is a mockery of the majesty of the law. The judge who persists in that method of handling liquor law violators as a regular practice, really stands between the people and law and order; he belittles the dignity of all law and forfeits his right to the confidence of patriotic, loyal citizens.

While there are many notable exceptions, generally speaking, there is need of more judges with less sympathy for the violator, and more sympathy for the wives and children or widows and orphans of his victims.

Too Much Like Old License System

Another weakness of mere fines: We must guard against the danger of having the Karl Marx doctrine of "economic determinism" applied to prohibition enforcement. Some counties and municipalities are keeping their exchequers well replenished by fining and refining law violators, unfortunately setting up a policy much akin to the old license system. Law enforcement is not advanced by such methods. The public must be educated away from this, despite the resistance of wet or tight-fisted officials. Fines must be supplemented with prison sentences and injunctions if the county or municipality is to protect its citizens and achieve a good name for law enforcement. No governmental unit can afford to take tribute money from law violators and encourage repetitions of law violations to fill its treasury, no matter for what public purpose such money may be used.

Padlocks

Certainly the time has come when every available weapon at our command should be vigorously used. The injunction method of procedure to close buildings in which the law is violated as nuisances, is used all too infrequently. Education as to what can and should be done under the nuisance abatement provisions of our prohibition laws, is sorely needed. The injunction has decided advantages over criminal prosecutions. Immediate relief on the filing of the bill is possible through a temporary injunction, whereas in the case of criminal action, delays and technicalities often postpone any real relief for months. The injunction reaches future sales and is at once preventive. It punishes not only the immediate violator, but also the owner of the premises on which the violation occurs. The owner may be deprived of the income from his property for an entire year under many of our nuisance laws. And the generous use of the injunction will do much toward solving the difficult big city enforcement problem. In cities where the Federal injunction process has been efficiently applied, there is a growing tendency on the part of owners to impose upon tenants strict compliance with the prohibition law.

The padlock provision of the National Prohibition law is the most effective weapon in the hands of the Federal government in prohibition enforcement. When there is sufficient evidence of law violations in a building or other place subject to injunction, if the government would file an injunction bill to close the premises, as well as a criminal charge against the proprietor and push both proceedings at the same time, the crowded conditions of our Federal criminal court dockets would soon be greatly reduced.

In the Northern District of Illinois during the past year government padlocks were snapped on the doors of 511 saloons, drugstores, night clubs, speakeasies and breweries. Property valued at over $5,000,000 is affected by these decrees. So efficient has the government become in this work that in many cases a consent decree is entered. The defendants enjoined do not put up a fight; they know it will be useless.

Other effective weapons as yet only spasmodically used, are contained in the old internal revenue laws. The penalties and forfeiture provisions of the revenue laws are far more drastic in many instances than those of the National Prohibition law. They were found effective to protect the revenue under the license regime, why not apply them to the limit, where applicable, to protect society from the organized defiers of the Eighteenth Amendment? After considerable difference of opinion in the Federal courts, since the passage of the Willis-Campbell Act, the United States Supreme Court has handed down a decision under which many of these statutes are, without question, still in full force and effect.

Speedy Punishment of Violators Essential

Delay in the trial of cases due to crowded court calendars has been an increasingly alarming factor in the near breakdown of criminal law enforcement. Prohibition has suffered much adverse criticism because of failures in enforcement which are not due to any difficulty inherent in prohibition law, but to delays incident to all law enforcement.

Adequate penalties in our laws, and judges and juries who will fearlessly impose them, can result in little real improvement unless offenders are tried within a reasonable time after arrest. To arrest a bootlegger; to permit him to be released on bond, which is his right, and then postpone his trial from six months to a year, or longer, because of the crowded condition of the court calendar, does not instill respect for the law in him or other potential offenders. On the other hand it enocurages law violations because of the belief that the day of reckoning is far away, or may never come; for it is well known that delay often defeats the prosecution's case entirely. Witnesses cannot be found; the memories of those who do appear become hazy; the public loses heart and sentiment for conviction dies.

The success of prohibition in these crucial days is as much dependent upon speeding up the wheels of justice, as on adequate penalties. Speedy trials are necessary to make adequate penalties really adequate.

If President Hoover's Crime Commission shall succeed in working out a plan to remedy this defect in the administration of our criminal laws, every member will be entitled to a place in the Hall of Fame.

Literature re: Penalties

I believe the Anti-Saloon League should have a special literature, covering information in regard to the penalties which may be imposed under the law, the facts and possibilities in regard to injunction procedure, what officials may institute actions, and the courts which may impose the penalties and grand padlock decrees. When the people know these facts and the officials know that the people know, officials will be more diligent in discharging their duties, and citizens will be more active in giving the officials the support essential to make their work effective.

KEEPING OHIO DRY

Hon. Rupert Beetham

State Prohibition Commissioner of Ohio

Keeping Ohio dry—yes, keep Ohio dry. Do you wish Ohio dry? A man said to me not long ago "Do you call Ohio dry? Look at those bootleggers and rum-runners." "What of that? You call Ohio Christian, don't you?" I said. He said "Yes." "What are you going to do with the heathen that we've got?" For the same reason that Ohio is Christian, Ohio is dry, because the overwhelming sentiment of the state is that way.

I was down at a conference at Cambridge a couple of months ago—a Methodist Conference. My father was a minister in that conference; my brother also, and I know a great many of the pastors in it. I had not been in that conference for 30 minutes until I believe that a score of those pastors said to me, "Beetham, you have the hardest job in the state." I said, "It is not a bit harder than yours." I said, "You started out to save the world, and all I am trying to do is to help dry Ohio a little more. From all appearances I have made just as much progress as you have. If you fellows had done what you started out to do I would not have any job here tonight." That is quite true.

Why we expect so much and why some have the understanding they do of

what is dry and what is wet and what we are doing and what we are not, is a strange thing to fathom. What we are trying to do in Ohio is, we are trying to do this thing by local officials just because ultimately there is where it has to be done, by reason of the number of officials. We have about 30 men in our department. Cleveland has about 1,500 policemen. We could lose the prohibition department in one ward in Cleveland over night if we tried to control it. We have made progress. We have gone to county officials, and county commissioners, and they have appropriated money for an additional sheriff. That has been done. We ask this man to give his time to the prohibition work. Take Marietta. We were four months in getting the commissioners to make the appropriation. But when that man was appointed, and at the end of four weeks had collected in fines more than enough to pay him for a year, the commissioners were very enthusiastic. Another county employed a special man. They paid him $3,600. And that man actually collected in that county last year over $37,000.

In another county, a man was put on in the same way as deputy sheriff, and I was there. After he had been on about a month, all the officials were very enthusiastic about it, and so was he. He said, "I never had anything in my life that I liked as well as this." He said, "I would rather do this than go coon hunting." He had just brought a bootlegger in. It would be impossible for the state to employ enough policemen to cover all this territory.

We have gone over the court records of the state, have checked every court in Ohio—the county courts and the municipal courts for 60 days. Ohio law provides that the fine for a bootlegger shall not be remitted or rescinded. This had practically been followed 100 percent. The Ohio law provides for a parole. We did find where that parole had extended into a pardon. We have had them bring back in, in some instances, 40 of those who had been paroled and they were put in jail. There is no way to prevent a court from suspending a fine. We found in some instances in 60 days $28,000 of fines were inflicted and $10,000 collected—about 30 percent. In another place, they had collected about 50 percent. All these facts were given out to the newspapers. I do not believe that there are three counties in the state of Ohio today that can do that and let it be known. Of course, they didn't want these facts published. In the case of one mayor, we published his docket. The newspapers asked for it. All we did was to publish that docket. Every liquor case that had been before him in nine months—they gave the name and what had been done and it showed that one-third of those arrested had paid their fine, one-third had paid anything, from $2 up to $20, and one-third had paid nothing. The paper carried it with no comment from me or anybody else. The mayor wrote me a letter the next day that was a scorcher. He had been mayor six or eight years. After the publication of that record he was defeated in that city for mayor. All I said to him was that it was his docket and not mine and if there was anything wrong with it it was his own fault. These are some of the methods we are using in trying to keep Ohio dry.

AFTER TEN YEARS

James J. Britt
Chief Counsel, Bureau of Prohibition

We have now had national prohibition for ten years. Following the lead of many of the states, the nation made all intoxicating beverage liquors taboo. The move was bold and dashing and decisive. The protest against strong drink took the form of a national mandate. In letters of rock it was written deep in the organic law, not for a day, but for all time. Overnight the old order passed and the new order was ushered in. It was the greatest

moral and social revolution of all time. No like enterprise of equal magnitude was known to mankind. Once again America was to lead the world in moral progress. And the world looked on with breathless interest.

Today, at the tenth milestone, we pause to look back over the road we have traveled. For a moment we take inventory and give accounting. The public is entitled to a faithful account of the acts of its agents during the past decade. The Anti-Saloon League is a large and highly respectable part of that public, and one of the great moral props of prohibition. It was indeed one of its primal sources. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Anti-Saloon League are our first line of moral defense. Both were indispensable to its accomplishment, and are necessary to its perpetuation. While they live, prohibition will live. If they fail, it will fail. But neither they nor it will fail. They are destined to survive all onslaughts.

Availing myself of your kind invitation to address you, and speaking for myself only, and on my own motion, I propose to review briefly the administration of prohibition through the Treasury Department. I shall deal only with the activities of the Bureau of Prohibition and its predecessor, the Prohibition Unit, although both the Bureau of Customs and the Coast Guard have been powerful allies and rendered invaluable service, and are able to give a good account of themselves. I have been a witness to, and a participant in, these activities, and have personal knowledge of the things whereof I speak. I shall endeavor, not only to give an account of what has been done, the way in which it has been done, and the reasons for doing it, but I shall endeavor to make answer to certain misrepresentations concerning the service by persons unfriendly to it.

The Eighteenth Amendment became effective on January 16, 1920, and the Act of October 28, 1919, known as the National Prohibition Act, was passed by Congress for its enforcement. It was supplemented by the act of November 23, 1921, known as the Willis-Campbell Act, and by subsequent acts. It carries out the mandate of the Amendment and prohibits the manufacture, sale, transporation, exportation, or importation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes. It also provides for the withdrawal, under permits, of nonbeverage alcohol for use in the arts and industries, spirituous liquors and wines for medicinal use, and wines for sacramental rites. Administrative machinery, penalties for crimes, injunctions for nuisances, forfeitures of property for violations, and taxes and penalties are provided.

The duty of enforcing these several statutes was committed to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury. From January 16, 1920, to April 1, 1927, prohibition was administered through the Prohibition Unit in the Bureau of Internal Revenue. At its immediate head was a Federal Prohibition Commissioner, an improvised official, appointed under the general powers of the act, by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury. On March 3, 1927, the prohibition establishment was made an independent bureau in the Treasury Department, to be administered by a commissioner of prohibition, appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury, all its attorneys, officers, and employees, save the commissioner, to be appointed under the rules of the federal civil service.

The Eighteenth Amendment applies to the United States and "all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof." The Act of November 23, 1921, known as the Willis-Campbell Act, provides that its provisions, and those of the National Prohibition Act, shall apply to all territory "subject to the jurisdiction of the United States," but to this inclusion an important exception results in the case of the Philippine Islands, there being a provision in the

Organic Act of the Islands that no subsequent act of Congress shall apply to the Philippine Islands unless specifically so provided. Neither the National Prohibition Act, nor any of its amendments, specifically apply to these Islands, and we, therefore, have the anomaly of the application of the Eighteenth Amendment to those Islands, with no enforcement statute to carry it into effect.. In Continental United States, Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico, prohibition is administered by the Bureau of Prohibition in the Treasury Department; in the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, and other American Pacific islands, by the Navy department. The total area administered by the Prohibition Bureau is 3,627,557 square miles, with an estimated total population of 121,345,600. The Supreme Court has held that the Eighteenth Amendment and the National Prohibition Act have no application beyond the three-mile limit, and that, therefore, American vessels on the high seas are not subject to liquor control.

Before we commence a review of prohibition enforcement, let us, for a moment, glance at the size of the undertaking.

It would be impossible to exaggerate the difficulties of the problem, or to overstate the immensity of the task. The area of enforcement was vast and boundless, covering three and a half million square miles. Every variety of race and tradition were represented. The population was the most polyglot and cosmopolitan of any nation on earth. Our social and sumptuary habits had roots extending back into the remote past. Much of our population was derived from races that have never known any interference with the drinking privilege, Many believed the use of intoxicating liquor not only to be a matter of personal liberty, but even of Divine right. The views as to use of strong drink were as varied as the race origins in the several sections of the country. Traditional habits were strong and controlling. Amid all this, and overnight, as it were, customs long existing and innocent became unlawful.

Moreover, there were billions of dollars invested in industries based upon the liquor traffic. Hundreds of thousands of people obtained their employment and subsistence from these industries. Certain phases of the change went to the very lives of many people. All who were acquainted with history knew, and still know, that the change could not be effected in a day. Many believed it would take a quarter of a century. The passage of Israel from idolatry to the true God required three hundred years. The extirpation of slavery took more than one hundred years. Prohibition was like all great historic changes. It was destined to require long and painful years for its accomplishment. It was too much to hope to change the habits of generations in a day, or a year, or a decade. All who knew human nature understood this. It is well to take into account these enormous difficulties in considering the progress of enforcement during the last ten years.

Viewed as to the size and difficulty of the problem, the tremendous obstacles to be overcome, the conviction is irresistible that the prohibition equipment is inadequate, that appropriations are too small, and the number of prohibition agents insufficient.

The first annual appropriation, that of 1920, consisted of only $2,000,000; that of the year 1929, of $11,878,000; and there has been an annual average of only $8,800,000 for the past ten years. The average number of enforcement officers for that period is 1,800, with an area of 3,627,557 square miles to be policed, which provides only one prohibition agent for every 2,000 square miles of prohibition territory. Even if we assume that each state will perform its proper share of enforcement, this equipment is yet entirely too small. I bring the matter of present equipment to your attention that you may

give it appreciation in considering the accomplishments of the past ten years. However, it is due to say on the other hand that the sudden thrusting of the entire prohibition force under the civil service rules found the Civil Service Commission unprepared for supplying so large a number of eligibles, a difficulty it has since been able to overcome and that, therefore, for a considerable time, the Bureau could not have profitably used greatly increased sums of money.

As a matter of course, the greater number of violations, and particularly those of a serious character, are found chiefly in certain infected centres, and are not the same throughout the country. It is likewise true that state enforcement attains a much higher per centum in some communities than in others. At no place is there any apportionment or division of enforcement functions between Federal and State officers, or any law or understanding to that effect. Such understandings, whether legal or extra-legal, would not only be entirely proper, but of great help to enforcement.

The successful administration of prohibition involves three major undertakings: The building up and organization of an efficient administrative and enforcement personnel; the supervision of the distribution of authorized non-beverage intoxicating liquors; and the discovery and destruction of the sources of unlawful beverage intoxicating liquors.

The efforts at improvement of the organization and personnel of the service have been attended with marked success, both in the Bureau and Field Divisions. This has been particularly true under the administration of Commissioner Doran. It received a powerful impetus by the Bureau Act of March 3, 1927, by which all officers, save the commissioner, and all attorneys and employees were placed under the civil service and required to pass most rigid tests as to physical, educational, and moral fitness, and experience. This has given new life and interest to the service, and added greatly to its efficiency. Assurance of permanent tenures and advancement on merit have also proved to be powerful incentives.

Both the Bureau and the Field Divisions are now completely organized, well manned, and thoroughly disciplined. Each of the 27 Administrator's offices is in charge of a capable and experienced business man, with good office equipment, and a corps of trained officers, attorneys, enforcement agents, and other employees. Schools of instruction for prohibition agents are conducted from time to time in every part of the country, and the agents are carefully instructed in the law and regulations, the art of crime detection, the use of fire-arms, official behavior, arrests, searches and seizures, official procedure, their relation to the public, and in every other matter pertaining to their rights and duties. There has been a most favorable reaction from these schools of instruction, and they have wrought a marvelous transformation in the enforcement personnel. I make bold to say that there is not in the detective force of any branch of the government a more capable and efficient body of police officers. There are, of course, occasionally lapses among them, but every breach of behavior or duty is destined quickly to feel the strong hand of correction. The charge that they are reckless users of fire-arms, home-invaders, and slayers of innocent citizens is the veriest libel, born of wet propaganda and sensational newspaper publicity. Instead of being parties to more than 1,300 blamable killings, the truth is that in a period of ten years only 206 persons have been killed in connection with federal prohibition enforcement, and of these 58 were prohibition agents killed while endeavoring to enforce the law, and 146 were persons killed by prohibition agents in self-defense, by accident, or misadventure. I ask only for a verdict of truth on the record of these brave and self-sacrificing officers.

They are under the most binding instructions never to shoot unless it is absolutely necessary in defense of their own lives or the lives of their fellow officers, and these instructions are rigidly observed, often at the risk of personal injury. In addition to the 58 officers who have lost their lives at the hands of bootleggers, 446 have suffered serious injury. Surely it is now time that public sympathy was directed toward the law enforcers rather than the lawbreakers!

An excellent body of prohibition attorneys has also been built up. I am in position to speak from personal knowledge as to the character and qualifications of this section of the service. I visited every part of the country to advise and confer with the field attorneys. I was greatly pleased with their ability, legal learning, large experience ,and devotion to duty. They are in fact the best informed body of attorneys in prohibition law and procedure to be found in the country. Judgeships and district attorneyships could well be recruited from their number. And I assume personal responsibility for saying that there is not one in their ranks who is not in thorough sympathy with the objects and purposes of the Eighteenth Amendment.

The issuance and supervision of liquor permits is one of the major tasks of prohibition enforcement. And it is also a subject concerning which public information seems to be in inverse ratio to the violence of discussion about it. A permit is an authorization by the Prohibition commissioner to manufacture, sell, purchase, use, or exercise some other privilege in relation to intoxicating liquors. Basic permits are issued for the calendar year, while certain subsidiary permits are issued for lesser periods.

I hope the importance of the subject, and the present public interest in it, will be sufficient apology for my attempt to discuss it somewhat in detail, and for noticing some of the misrepresentations of the Bureau of Prohibition concerning it, particularly those of former Assistant Attorney-General Mabel Walker Willebrandt in her recent book, "The Inside of Prohibition." I do not do this, of course, out of resentment of the criticism of Bureau officials, for all public officials know that a part of the price of public office is personal malignment, and, consequently, their skins must necessarily be of elephantine thickness, but I do it in vindication of the good name of a branch of the public service, an institution belonging to all alike, the good name of which we should jealously guard against defamation, and pass unsullied to those who come after us.

On page 50 of the book, Mrs. Willebrandt, referring to the issuance of new permits, says: "The granting of permits to newly organized firms should be possible and proper only on a showing of public need." If she means by this that the commissioner can limit the number of permits according to his opinion as to public need, she should remind herself that there is no such authority of law, and never has been, desirable as it would be in the interest of prohibition enforcement.

He cannot arbitrarily deny a permit, nor limit the number to be issued, either locally or generally. He cannot say, for instance, that there shall not be more than 1,000 druggists' and 5,000 physicians' permits issued in the state of Michigan. He must pass upon each one of an unlimited number of applications upon its individual merits. Personally, I heartily wish that the number of permits might be limited. Our neighboring Canadian Provinces have at times had such laws. But our law makes no provision for it, and the Attorney-General, the chief law officer of the government, has definitely held otherwise. On March 3, 1921, in an opinion addressed to the Secretary of the Treasury, he held that "the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and the Secretary of the Treasury are without authority to limit, either locally, or for

the country as a whole, the number of permits to be issued for the manufacture, or sale, of liquor for medicinal purposes." Of course, the Attorney-General meant that the number of permits could not be limited without justifiable grounds in each case.

But while the Commissioner is without authority to limit the number of permits, he is, happily, without limitation as to the extent of his inquiry to ascertain the fitness of an applicant. He may inquire into his general reputation; his standing as to honesty and uprightness; his attitude toward obedience to law in general, and to prohibition law in particular; his habits and the habits of his associates as to drinking; his business qualifications; the source of his capital; who are his backers; in short, into everything that tends to show his fitness, or unfitness, for this semi-public trust, and if, as a result of his inquiry, he finds any reason, or reasons, for believing the applicant to be unfit, this is sufficient to justify the exercise of his discretion, and he may deny the application, and his action cannot be lawfully overruled by an equity court of review. This is the doctrine of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Ma-King Products Company case, the controlling law on the subject, reported at page 479 of the 261st U. S. Supreme Court reports.

On page 50 of Mrs. Willebrandt's book appears this statement, referring to legal advice as to the issuance of permits: "Some lawyers in the Treasury Department have justified their 'yes-yes' by saying that the prohibition law gives the commissioner no power to say no to applicants for permit privileges unless they are found to be actually convicted law-breakers."

I have been the Chief Council of the Prohibition Unit and Bureau for nearly eight years and I have never heard of such legal advice being given, but, on the contrary, know of my personal knowledge that the legal counsel on that point, both before and after the rendition of the Supreme Court decision in the Ma-King Products Company case, has been in harmony with the doctrine of that case, and the files of the Bureau of Prohibition show that in the appeal stage of that case from the District Court to the Court of Appeals, the data of statutes, cases, and arguments for the government's brief, were prepared in the Law Division of the Bureau of Prohibition, under my direction and supervision. The allegation of the former Assistant Attorney-General is, therefore, a misrepresentation of fact as to the attorneys of the Bureau of Prohibition, and of the Treasury Department, so far as I have ever heard, and I think I am in position to know.

On page 51 of her book, referring again to what she claims to be the reckless issuance of permits by the Treasury Department, she says: "I looked with eagerness to the chance thus to clarify the limits of discretionary powers of the Treasury Department in such matters. But the prohibition office said no so seldom that only one case raising the question of denial of a permit has reached the Supreme Court of the United States in the whole ten years of enforcement! It was the case of the Ma-King Products Company, 271 U. S., 479, where the Court observed, 'Here plainly the refusal of the permit involved no error of law'."

In the light of the facts, this is a most remarkable statement. How any responsible person can make it, I am at a loss to know, I cannot account for it upon any hypothesis, other than that of inexcusable ignorance of the facts, or a purpose to malign the Bureau of Prohibition. In the summer of 1929, at the very moment she was writing her book she knew, or could have known by consulting her records, that there were outstanding in the City of Philadelphia alone 35 specially denatured alcohol permits, withdrawing annually 1,215,000 gallons of alcohol, that had been denied for the year 1929 by the Administrator, but had been allowed by the courts through injunc-

tions, to say nothing of large numbers in New York, New Jersey, and elsewhere. The denials by Administrators had involved every phase of permit law. Surely here was a field for the exercise of appellate talents. It is not the Prohibition Bureau's fault that she did not avail herself of it. The cases had gone against the government, the administrators had records of their grounds of denial, the district attorneys were no doubt alert, and proper exceptions were taken, and all the Appellate machinery was in her hands. If she failed to prosecute to final appeal, the fault was hers. In the light of these facts, her statement that the Bureau of Prohibition made no opportunity for final test of permit questions on appeal is absurd and ridiculous.

It is the invariable custom of the Bureau of prohibition, where the denial, or revocation, of a permit is overruled by the District Court, to request appeal of the case if any undecided point of law is involved. There are now many such cases pending in the Circuit Courts of Appeals, on their way to the Supreme Court, if necessary, the requests for appeal having been made by prohibition administrators, with the approval of the commissioner. There have, at all times, been outstanding court-directed permits, under which tremendous quantities of alcohol have been withdrawn, a fact that demonstrates beyond doubt that the Prohibition Bureau has pressed denials and revocations of permits to the limit, and stands as a refutation of her charge of laxness in their allowance. If the former Assistant Attorney-General fell short of her ideals, or did not realize her ambitions, it is at least uncharitable to blame it on the Bureau of Prohibition.

But she did not avail herself of all her immediate opportunities for appeals. In the case of Walters V. Pennington, at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, a U. S. District Judge held, in effect, that revocation proceedings must be brought within three months after a violation, thus creating an artificial statue of limitations, which has since become precedential with a number of other judges. The Prohibition Bureau requested her to take an appeal of the case to the Supreme Court, which she failed to do, although substantially concurring in the view that the principle of the holding was legally unsound.

She charges, indirectly, if not directly, that permits are recklessly and improvidently issued, often through political or other undue influence. This is without the least foundation in fact. It is true that a large, but happily, a rapidly decreasing number of permits have been erroneously granted, with a consequent large unlawful withdrawal of liquors. But it was not done knowingly, recklessly, or designedly. It was inevitable from the very nature of the situation. Thirst for drink and the greed for gain, have lured into the liquor business many men who have hitherto borne the best of reputation, and against whom grounds for denial of permits could not be established, but when violations were disclosed, and their cloven-hoofs were shown, their permits were forthwith revoked. No permit has ever been granted recklessly, or without inquiry, or because of politics, or from other sinister motives, as she intimates.

On the contrary, most careful inquiry is made into every phase of applications, and favorable action is never taken unless the fitness of the applicant is made to appear, and when violations are discovered, citation is immediately issued. Investigations are being made more searching, and the rules of allowance more rigid, from day to day, and, at the present rate of elimination, all unworthy permittees will soon be weeded out. The vigilance of the bureau in this particular is attested by the fact that within the past ten years 14,000 permits have been revoked, many thousands have been cancelled or withdrawn, and 25,000 applications have been disapproved.

Requirements as to the equipment of permittees are most rigid, and inspections are frequent and thorough. At every alcohol manufacturing plant two or more officers are constantly on duty. All materials are officially weighed and recorded, all alcohol produced is gauged, entered, and reported, and the keys to all locks are in the hands of prohibition officers. At denaturing plants, all denaturation formulas are approved by the Bureau, denaturants are deposited in the presence of Bureau officers, records are kept, reports are made, and supervisory officers are at all times present. Manufacturers who use denatured alcohol must have the required equipment, keep records, make reports, and hold their places of business open for inspection during all business hours.

She attacks the Treasury Department for what she calls its failure to control permits by regulations. The issuance of regulations is authorized by law, and they are of very great help, but they are not everything. She lays undue stress upon their efficiency. We cannot depend wholly upon regulations. It is like an army officer trying to win a battle by drills and marches The Bureau of Prohibition has gone to the limit of the law, and as it is claimed, even beyond it, in the issuance of restrictive regulations. Wherever they have offered the least hope of relief they have been immediately issued. It requires diligence, courage, intelligence, and detective ingenuity to circumvent violators. It cannot be done by regulations only. Bootleggers are geniuses in their art, and are usually able to employ shrewd attorneys. The bureau has gone as far as it could in issuing regulations, and has obtained many helpful understandings that were beyond the law. We are today, under regulations, denying the use of whisky in the manufacture of Section 4 articles, although it is urged that, since the act authorizes liquor, and whisky is liquor, we cannot lawfully do so. But whisky is found more subject to diversion, and disallowance of it is in an aid to enforcement.

If extra-legal regulations, or understandings, are preventives, and do not injure a permittee's legal rights, the burden often resorts to them. Commissioner Doran has performed a great service in this direction. He has secured an understanding with the manufacturers of alcohol whereby their aggregate output shall be limited to actual legal and public demands. I regard this as one of the greatest accomplishments in the history of the service. By square dealing and persistent effort, he has done for the service that which the law has not done. I heartily favor legislation giving the Commissioner the power to restrict the number of permits, and to impose further limitations upon their use.

She says regulations may be made that will destroy "cover-up houses." How I wish this were true! But neither she nor anybody can do that under the present law. The Bureau of Prohibition has no legal control over non-permittees, unless for violation of law. Their houses cannot be searched without probable cause. On one occasion we made a bold adventure in that direction. We drafted a regulation providing for the insertion into alcohol users' permits of a stipulation that their articles should be sold only to such persons as agreed to submit to inspection. Although doubting its validity, we yet hoped that the Bureau might get an understanding with permittees as to its operation. But we did not get very far. We were made the subject of a violent attack before the Senate Judiciary Committee. Such a provision can be provided by law, and I hope it may be at an early date, but it is not now the law. The law can only be enforced as it is. It cannot be strained into what it is not. Only Congress can add to it.

I have dwelt upon these details, commonplace and prosaic as they are, that you might know that no duty is neglected, or requirement disregarded,

and that I might defend the service against the unjust assaults directed against it.

There is, I think a serious misapprehension in the public mind as to the main source of unlawful liquors. Their chief origin is not abuses under alcohol permits, although possibly from two to three million gallons are annually diverted through those channels. Illicit distilleries, large and small, using corn sugar, corn, rye, and other original materials, are the principal source. I, of course, have no thought of minimizing any place of abuse. Like the military command, we must locate the evil and destroy it. It will probably assist our analysis of the situation if we bear in mind the fact that during the fiscal year 1929, over 80 percent of all the denatured alcohol withdrawn for use was by about 130 permittees whose names are the synonyms of honesty and obedience to law, men whose lawful use of denatured alcohol we cannot for a moment doubt, unless we believe, what no one can believe, that such honorable business firms as the Ford Motor Company, the Eastman Kodak Company, the duPont Company, E. R. Squibb & Sons, and the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, are bootleggers.

In my opinion, the unlawful sources of supply are four in number, and in this order, namely, first, unlawful distillation from original materials; second, unlawful importations, mainly from Canada; third, diversions through alcohol permits; and, fourth, minor petty sources, such as leaks from wines, medicinal liquors, diplomatic liquors, pre-prohibition family liquors, and the like.

But, whatever the sources are, wherever they are, and in whatever order they appear, under the matchless leadership of our purposeful and determined President, they will be located and broken up, and their places hereafter used for lawful purposes, by law-abiding men.

In the meantime, let us rejoice that, although we have fallen far short of our ideal, we have yet had ten fruitful years, years of progress toward our goal.

I have not time for details. But there is much of which to be proud. Considering the equipment, it is a record of marvelous achievement. Our little band of enforcement officers have worked with a diligence, courage, and faith that challenge admiration. Despite difficulties they have attained high accomplishment. Our government never obtained better results from so small an outlay. I have never known its work excelled in either quantity or quality. Let me name just a few of its higher reaches.

At the close of the last fiscal year, our officers had made 55,000 arrests, and seized 245,000 illicit distilleries, 9,000,000 gallons of illicit spirits, 45,000 automobiles, 1,400 boats, and a vast amount of miscellaneous property, the forfeiture value being $136,000,000.

In the same period 485,000 cases were presented to district attorneys, 465,000 cases were determined, resulting in 350,000 convictions, $57,000,000 in fines, and 34,000 years of imprisonment; 30,000 injunction cases were instituted, out of which 22,000 permanent injunctions were allowed; 16,000 forfeiture cases were determined, and there was actually collected and turned into the Treasury over $50,000,000 in fines, penalties, and forfeitures.

The moral results in temperance are beyond calculation. They are shown in the uplift of millions of people. Laboring men have turned their drink money into homes for their families and schools for their children. They have billions of dollars on deposit in savings banks against rainy days. They and their children can now go to the picture show, the theater, and other places of amusement. Better clothes, more books, longer terms of school and larger opportunities to live a full life have come to millions of children.

Above all, that ancient institution of infamy, the open saloon, is gone. Children ten years old and more have never beheld its monster visage. It will not appear again in coming generations. Whatever the enemies of prohibition may say, no man has ever made a good case for intoxicating liquors. At its best, it can only satisfy a physical appetite. It appeals to nothing higher. It has no uplift for men, no enlargement of their hopes, no broadening of their lives, offers them no greater destiny.

It is said that the Bureau of Prohibition will go to the Department of Justice. Wherever the President, that great friend of prohibition, shall lead, we will follow without question. The prohibition force will go wherever he directs, but they will go unashamed and without fault. Not as those who have failed, but as those who have won. If the Department of Justice can promote advancement of law enforcement, all the friends of prohibition will rejoice. Whatever is done, there will be harmony of effort and a common purpose, and the watchword will be "Onward."

And we shall not fail in our great aim. We shall reach the goal by and by. I know there are some faint hearts. We are suffering a great onslaught from the enemy. Storms are raging about us, but when the calm comes, prohibition will yet be here. Let us remain steadfast, determined, and full of hope. He who has prospered us so far will not desert us. Nor is it the habit of Americans to put their hands to the plow and turn back.

In the World War a body of American soldiers in France were rushing northward to battle at double quick. An old French woman was looking on. She had lost all of her sons. Waving her hands, and using the best English she could, she shouted, "There go the Americans! Where they go, there is victory! They have never lost a war. They will bring peace to us!" In that spirit we shall go forward. And we shall not lose our battle.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

MOPPING UP

Rev. Atticus Webb

Superintendent, Anti-Saloon League of Texas

Texas was discovered by Aaron Burr when things became too hot for that gentleman in the United States. It was settled by Moses and Stephen Austin when they went broke in St. Louis. The word Texas means "Hot stuff" and Texas was named by General Santa Anna when Sam Houston chased him from the San Jacinto to the Rio Grande endeavoring to catch him in order to make out of him a fresh supply of hot tamales.

Texas is bounded on the South by Old Mexico, the Latin Republics and the South Pole, on the East by the Gulf of Mexico and the United States, on the West by the Pacific Ocean and China and on the North by Kansas and the Aurora Borealis.

We raise in Texas one-third of the cotton, one-half of the cattle and most all the Democrats in America. We have a few Republicans in our museums, our asylums and our post offices. For political purposes we join the United States every four years to elect a President. In 1928 we selected the best Democrat available and elected him by a majority of 357 electoral votes, with a little assistance from the Republicans of the North. I come to express for Texas our due appreciation for the assistance given us by you Northern Republicans and feel sure that by the time Herbert Hoover is President for eight years you will all have become good Democrats.

Texas, being full of Democrats, believes in the Constitution, that the Eight-

eenth Amendment is an integral part of that Constitution and that it is there to stay. We therefore believe that every loyal American, regardless of his personal opinion on the liquor question, will be loyal to that Constitution. We have watched the attacks being made on that Amendment by the aliens of New York and the East and have noticed every time they have pronounced Prohibition a failure and dead that the election returns show increased majorities for it in the National Congress. We are beginning to ask whether it is a fact that all the drys of the North run for Congress and all the wets vote for them—or is it a fact that the wet newspapers and wet politicians are simply lying about these things?

For six successive national elections, we have noticed that the dry majorities in Congress have been growing larger and that now in the White House we have a man who is bone dry inside and out, and that we have an increasingly large number of our bootleggers in the penitentiaries, until we Democrats of Texas have become to believe that prohibition is no longer on trial, no longer an experiment, but has become the settled policy of our Nation.

We believe therefore that the time has come when all loyal American citizens, irrespective of their personal views, should cease their opposition to Prohibition, cease their criticism of the law and cease their criticism of our Government in its effort to enforce the law and we believe that every loyal citizen should join heart and hand behind our President to help him in a big successful way to put over his program of law enforcement, to eradicate root and branch the remnants of the outlawed liquor traffic. We believe that the time has come for us to join in mopping up the wet places and to clear out all disloyal citizens or send them to prison.

Texas has a Ranger force that for efficiency and courage is unrivaled by even the noted Northwestern Mounted Police. The Captain of that force today carries 22 bullet holes in his body received while maintaining the laws of his State and he is still going strong. He would tackle single-handed every rum-runner on the Detroit River and the chances are that he would bring them in. Texas is willing to furnish a whole regiment of such Rangers to mop up the wet places of New York, Maryland, Wisconsin and Chicago.

There was a day when we stopped to reason with men about the best method of handling the liquor problem. That day is past. Today the choice is not between the saloon or Prohibition. You cannot get the saloon—it is gone and gone to stay. The voters of America have outlawed it and will not allow it to return.

The choice is not between Prohibition and Government sales or any other substitute for Prohibition or substitute for the saloon which our wet press is endeavoring to kid you into demanding. Under the Eighteenth Amendment all such substitutes are impossible and the Eighteenth Amendment is there to stay.

The choice today is not between Prohibition and anything. The choice today is between your loyalty to your country and your loyalty to your bootlegger. Choose ye this day whose loyalty you will espouse, whether it be your loyalty to your bootlegger or your loyalty to your Constitution, your loyalty to your institutions, your loyalty to your Country, your loyalty to your flag, the emblem of all and of all else that is dear to every true American heart.

"Your Flag and My Flag,
And how it floats today,
O'er your land and my land,
And half a world away!"

As a Texan I want to say to you that you will not find the spirit of true Democracy on cold storage in the Vaults of Tammany Hall preserved for 1932.

You will find the heart and soul of the Democratic Party in the cotton fields of Dixie. For that spirit go with me to the Battle Field of Chalmette where the Hero of Democracy, Andrew Jackson, met the minions of British Autocracy in the Battle of New Orleans. During the War of 1812 when not a victory on land had reflected glory to the American arms that Prophet of Democracy, Andrew Jackson, led his army from the cotton fields of Kentucky and Tennessee with their squirrel rifles to meet the veterans of England's Napoleonic Wars under Sir General Packenham. That is the spirit of true American democracy, and that is the spirit which will forever maintain the American Prohibition Amendment.

THE AMERICAN ISSUE

S. J. Fickel
Managing Editor The American Issue
Westerville, Ohio

Let me first express my heartfelt appreciation and genuine joy at the demonstration put on by these young people this morning. It has been a wonderful demonstration to me, and worth all its cost in time and money to come here to look into the faces of these young men and women, lined up for this great crusade. They have improved the scenery of this convention. All honor to those old veterans who fought all these years, but my friends, this war will never be won by the veterans alone—it takes these young stock troops. So I thank Superintendents High and McNaught and Archie Graham and Doctor Moore for bringing these young people here.

My subject is the American Issue, and I am not going far afield when I speak about these young people, for what greater issue is there before the people today than the spiritual and moral welfare of our young people? Of course, you want to hear about the publication, and I shall have to confine my remarks to that.

There is no greater influence, no greater single influence, in the progress thus far made for moral welfare, than the art of printing. Trace it from its inception when our ancient ancestors, thousands of years ago, first began to communicate their thoughts and ideas by transcribing them in rude characters and pictures on the stone walls of their cave homes and thereby leaving to us a permanent record of their civilization. Trace it through the period that gave us the movable type, down to our own day of the Linotype, and that most wonderful of all inventions, the modern perfecting press, and you will find that the printed page, the art of printing, like a beacon torch, has lighted the pathway of the human race as it struggles upward and onward to a higher, nobler civilization. But the press and type, debased to personal gains and private interests, may become and has been made to become, a stumbling block in this pathway to higher ideals. I think President Hoover had this in mind when he addressed the representatives of the Associated Press, when he admonished and urged these papers to throw into the discard all cynicism and scepticism and gibes and misrepresentation when discussing the Eighteenth Amendment, its enforcement and its observance, adding that the power of the press had greater influence perhaps than any other factor—had influence, at least, that was beyond computation.

Now the founders and pioneers of the Anti-Saloon League, conscious of this power, almost as one of their very first far-reaching acts, launched the publication which was called "The Anti-Saloon League." It was a little monthly publication in size about 8 by 10 inches and it was given to everybody who would subscribe or pledge as much as ten cents a month for a year. I like that name,

Anti-Saloon. It was needed for its period. Its meaning was unmistakable, and yet I am glad it was changed to its present name. The man who presided over its destinies might have been a preacher and perhaps he thought "American Issue" was a more euphonious name. He might have wanted to get away from the idea of destruction and put it on the side of construction. He was a prophet. I believe that he looked down these three decades and saw what we celebrated yesterday as the culmination of this great fight, the enactment of this Eighteenth Amendment, when there is no legalized saloon in all this land. I wonder if he did see that? At any rate that is what has come to pass. But "The American Issue" grew in strength and in columns and after a few short months it changed its frequency of publication to a weekly edition and enlarged the number of its pages to sixteen.

The first editor was Doctor Howard H. Russell and associated with him was Doctor J. C. Jackson. Later, Doctor Jackson became the editor in chief and the scars of his keen-pointed pen are still borne by the remnant of the old liquor interests who felt that pen. It is still wielding its influence. The present "American Issue" has assumed a new dress. But regardless of how well it may be edited we are helpless unless we get it into the hands of the people. You are an important part in this organization. We want you to get this paper and read it yourself. It is your armor; it will keep you posted. We are not in the field competing with the newspaper from a newspaper standpoint; we are attempting to give you the right angle whenever possible. You will get news direct from the firing line if you read this paper, which is put out in a new bi-weekly form. These papers are published for the various states. We have eighteen state editions now. We ought to have every Anti-Saloon League organization in the United States in this family of "American Issues." We are doing fairly well, but not well enough. I asked the postmaster of our town the amount of mail that was being handled from The American Issue Publishing Company and he told me that for the last three months we have handled one ton a day of second class mail matter—90 tons. We ought to double it and quadruple it, we ought to send it out into every nook and corner of this nation and I hope that each one of us will appoint himself or herself a committee of one, first, to subscribe for "The American Issue;" next to subscribe for it for somebody else, send it to the adult classes of our Sunday Schools, put it in the churches and spread its news, because we print the truth about prohibition. "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

THE LEAGUE'S RELATION TO LAW ENFORCEMENT

EDWARD B. DUNFORD

Attorney for the Anti-Saloon League of America

The Anti-Saloon League is neither dictator nor detective but the organized determination of millions of Americans to solve the social problems growing out of beverage intoxicants. It is not a detective agency and does not attempt to usurp governmental functions, nor attempt to do the work of public officials. It operates by the formation of public opinion to achieve the enforcement of law through the duly constituted public authorities.

The prohibition movement is based upon the scientific truth that alcohol is a habit-forming, narcotic drug; that its consumption as a beverage is harmful to the individual and that the liquor traffic is inimical to the general welfare of society. A traffic clearly demonstrated to be harmful to large numbers of society and which is unessential, has no moral right to exist. The Anti-Saloon League movement is both a moral and an educational one.

Law observance is to be preferred over law enforcement. The one makes

the other unnecessary, but securing observance of the prohibition law merely because it is the law should not be the objective of the Anti-Saloon League. The enactment of prohibition legislation has resulted in the practice of total abstinence by large numbers of citizens because of the law. The attitude of thousands of Americans who, while not convinced of the wisdom of the law nevertheless observe it, bears eloquent testimony to their sportsmanship and good citizenship. This group must be acquainted with the facts justifying the law, for its success depends not alone upon law observance but upon the citizen's belief that alcoholic beverages are harmful to him individually, the traffic in them is injurious to his fellow men collectively, and that their prohibition is a social necessity. Against the class which will not obey the law, it must be enforced, if orderly government is to endure.

In dealing with the promotion of sentiment for law enforcement the Anti-Saloon League has formulated certain principles. Representing the social attitude of its constituents, it informs the voters of the attitude and record of candidates for public office on the prohibition question and lends its influence by all proper means to building a public opinion to support public officials who administer the law faithfully. It furnishes a medium for cooperative effort by which the friends of prohibition may exert their influence collectively. As long as the opposition to the law is organized and active the drys must continue the fight.

Approximately 500 unsuccessful wet measures have been introduced in Congress during the ten years since the adoption of national prohibition.

The Administration should be supported in its policies and is entitled to the cooperation of every law-abiding citizen in its efforts to promote law enforcement in the country. Perfection is impossible, but steady progress can and will be made in direct proportion as support of the people is accorded. The Anti-Saloon League, representing the viewpoint of those who believe in the prohibition policy, has an obligation to build a supporting public sentiment which it must fulfill. Truth will prevail.

PROGRESS OF FEDERAL PROHIBITION

Doctor J. M. Doran

Commissioner of Prohibition

The period in which national prohibition has been in effect covers about one-third of a generation, and yet habits and customs of dozens of generations have been materially modified in that short period of time. It is difficult for us, in the immediate center of these changes, to get a fair view of the situation and to calmly assess the broad effects of this policy. It is futile to discuss our present prohibition policy in terms of individual activities as carried on thirty years ago. Increased liberty and more opportunity for cultural development are direct results of the increased employment of power energy in this country in the last fifteen years. The two cannot be disassociated. A control and suppression of intoxicating liquor is necessarily a large factor in the efficient employment and enjoyment of this increased energy and power development. We must control these new energies or we will ourselves be destroyed by them. The capacity for destruction in the hands of an individual whether he be driving on the highway or in control of factory mechanism is tremendously hightened in the present day as compared with fifteen years ago. The efficiency and control of the individual is of tremendous importance to his fellows. For that reason the control and suppression of intoxicating liquors is an appropriate subject for major Governmental action

and our present problem is to devote our energy towards perfecting that control.

The Federal Government has made great strides in ten years. The record of accomplishment is one of which nobody need be ashamed and critics should be fair enough to consider the improvement from year to year with the Federal Government in strengthening control.

What about industrial alcohol and the permit system? One hundred million gallons of alcohol was produced and used last year. Exhaustive inquiries and careful examination of all figures and data available show a diversion of not to exceed two and three-quarter million gallons, less than 3 percent of the entire production, and less than one-fifth of the diversion of three years ago.

Our Administrators and Special Agents are doing wonderful work in still further reducing this diversion, and important cases have been developed with the aid of various United States Attorneys during the past six months. For every gallon of industrial alcohol diverted, there was at least seven or eight gallons of high-proof alcohol produced illicitly from corn sugar put on the bootleg market in the form of alcohol, gin and alleged imported whisky. The corn sugar racket now surpasses all others in the field of operation of the bootlegger.

If, under the lash of extremists and politicians, harsh and restrictive measures are adopted towards scientific and industrial groups before the facts are discerned, we will witness a terrific blow to scientific and commercial progress in the United States. An honest business or professional man concerned with his normal activities will succumb long before the crook is reached.

Regulations cannot be made 100 percent preventive or self-executing. If that were possible an unethical professional man or a crooked lawyer would never have been licensed to practice medicine or be admitted to the Bar. None of these assaults on the permissive system will apprehend a single additional gangster or smuggler, or try a single additional case in a United States or State Court.

The crippling of our scientific and educational institutions, our medical arts, and our commercial organizations, dependent on the efficient and rapid movement and procurement of essential alcohol supplies, is too big a price to pay for extreme national prohibition.

The human element is not infallible even when it is connected with prohibition enforcement and errors of judgment and action have been made, are being made and will continue to be made. That is not the point so much as to profit by error in future action. That progress has been made and profit gained from error is, I think, indisputable. There is no fixed rule for correct human conduct and all of these tremendous Governmental problems in which we are now blazing a new pathway must be carried out by the laboratory method of trial and error. It has been so since organized government existed.

The purpose of the Chief Executive is clear. His leadership is inspiring and the duties of all officials and citizens seem to me to be plain in the premises. Officials of all grades, ranks and services, Federal, State and local, should enforce the law and observe the law. The duty of observance is on all citizens. Fuller information on this great problem in its many changing phases is necessary in order that sensible political action be had. This organization can do no better work than to devote its efforts to the building and strengthening of sentiment starting with the smallest community unit and going on up. It is necessary that the foundation of the structure be closely guarded as the changing of minor features on the top of the structure will not substitute for the maintenance and strengthening of individual opinion throughout the United States to support and adhere to the law.

GIVE PROHIBITION ITS CHANCE

Mrs. Ella A. Boole

President, National Woman's Christian Temperance Union

A ten-year-old boy has not reached maturity. He has in him wonderful possibilities. If he is to be given a chance he needs care and guidance, he needs good food, he needs proper clothing, he needs an education.

National Prohibition in the United States of America is ten years old. It too must be given a chance to grow. Unfortunately, a spirit of opposition, fostered by wet propaganda, is exerting its influence to prevent that chance.

The organized women of America worked for nearly fifty years to put prohibition in the Constitution of the United States. They did it because they recognized that when the liquor traffic had its day the home had suffered, that all that women hold dear had been the prey of the liquor traffic and the liquor habit.

Years of education in total abstinence among the children in temperance schools, in public schools, and in the Sunday Schools had helped to train a generation of men and women who were total abstainers, and who knew that alcohol was a narcotic poison which, taken in small quantities, had the power to create an appetite for more.

Prohibition was enacted after due deliberation and after many methods of dealing with the liquor traffic had been tried. Ten years is not long enough to bring the full fruits of any great reform. Many experiments in law enforcement have been tried. Continued opposition has rendered the work difficult. In the meantime there has been a splendid body of men and women in the United States who have upheld the law, have recognized its benefits, and have supported the government in every constructive effort to promote law observance and law enforcement.

My particular message today must deal with the efforts of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union to give prohibition its chance. Our Jubilee campaign was launched in 1920 and culminated with our completion of fifty years of service in 1924. It resulted in raising larger funds for the temperance work than ever before, and in enrolling thousands of new members in our organization. In order to promote both these interests it was necessary to continue our campaign of education, organization, and agitation. The activities of ten thousand local unions in as many communities touched many lives, and public sentiment was created everywhere. Each year, January 16th has been observed as the birthday of National Prohibition by the holding of public meetings, luncheons, dinners and conferences. Last year at least five thousand such meetings were held, and we confidently expect that more are being held this year.

The celebration of the Jubilee crowned the presidency of Miss Anna A. Gordon, and placed our work upon even a more permanent basis than ever before.

Perhaps nothing can better characterize the activities of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union since 1925 than the slogans adopted for each year. "Mobilize for law observance and law enforcement;" "Hold Fast and Go Forward"—hold fast our law, hold fast our principles, hold fast our membership, and go forward for larger things. Then when politicians began talking about the Canadian system, whether it is called Government Control or Government Sale, we adopted as our slogan, "Prohibition is the Best Method." Throughout the year we presented this thought in many ways, all to the end that the public might see that every other method had

failed and know that National Prohibition was recognized as establishing the same standard of dealing with the liquor traffic all over the country.

In 1928 we adopted as the slogan for the year, "Give Prohibition Its Chance." We propose to give it a chance by speaking well of it; we propose to give it a chance by observing the law; we propose to give it a chance by pointing out the benefits of prohibition; we propose to give it a chance by urging all patriotic citizens to support it; we propose to give it a chance through an educational campaign that will give the facts in regard to prohibition.

One project of the year which has been widely commended is the securing of signatures of young men and young women between the ages of fourteen and thirty to Youth's Roll Call, a pledge of law observance and support of the Constitution. The names of nearly a quarter of a million of young people are already recorded at our headquarters in Evanston, and thousands of sheets, each containing ten names, are being circulated throughout the country. The youth of America will give prohibition its chance, and we should encourage them to do so.

The responsibility is not with youth alone, however; it is with all the American people. We are the people. Our government is what we make it. Our observance of the prohibition law will make for better health, for more comfortable living, for better citizenship, and for a greater nation. Such an ideal however will not come of itself. Inactivity never won anything. The same promotional methods which apply to business, to politics, and for other great moral causes must help in giving prohibition its chance. Eternal vigilance was the price of liberty; eternal vigilance will be the price of prohibition.

ORGANIZING WOMEN VOTERS FOR VICTORY

MRS. LENA B. MATHES

Superintendent, Christian Citizenship Association of Chicago

I am sure you will appreciate this anecdote. In the last Presidential campaign, a meeting was being held in a Southern state. It was largely attended by Democrats of both factions, those who were supporting Smith and those who were opposed to Smith. An orator of the Smith faction had been making a speech in honor of the New York Governor, and closed his speech with the question, "And now what are we going to do with the Eighteenth Amendment?" One old fellow, from somewhere in the mountains, called out emphatically, "We done done it; we passed the nineteenth!"

Because of the failure of a crowd of church women in trying to eliminate permanently some evil institutions in the city of Chicago and because of the failure in certain Senatorial districts in Chicago to elect good candidates to office, when there was an overwhelming majority of their people who belonged to Protestant churches, it dawned upon this group of church women that here was what was the matter with all of us—the fact that not enough of us did vote. We came to the conclusion that as a matter of fact it was the polled votes that elected candidates and if we did want to elect good candidates we would simply have to vote. A survey showed that the average church registration in one ward was 41 percent, but we also found that by dint of telephoning to those non-registered church voters we easily succeeded in raising that registration by ten to sixty percent. We decided that we would have to get busy with the local church. No organization, no dues, no meetings, simply a little working organization of the women's societies of the local church turned the trick, and we first tried it out in the ward, then in a state

Senatorial district, and then in the county, and in the county we succeeded in raising the registration of the church people of the county from about 35 percent to 87 percent at that election, and because of that registration we were able to break the political criminal combination in that county and put in a state's attorney who is honest and who is trying to enforce the law. In that particular campaign we had exactly 8,000 women in the local churches, telephoning their own church membership, each one telephoning to fifteen homes. Those 8,000 women made reports of the number in the home and the number who promised to vote, in the city of Chicago. Because we were able to do that, in Buffalo, last summer, when the organization was effected of the Federated Church Women of America, this work of ours was put in as one of the departments, to be operated, not as an organization, not as a dues-paying office—there were no paid officials, but in the local churches to work through this method which we have evolved to put in a 100 percent church vote in the ballot box. We are hoping that through this means we may be able at least to get this method adopted and put to work in the 87 of our largest wet cities in the United States, with over a hundred thousand population, between now and the time that we come to nominate and elect another president. We think we can accomplish that much and if we can get a method by which we will know that we will have a hundred percent church vote in the ballot box, we will easily have such a tremendous majority for President Hoover in the next election that the wets will "go away back and sit down" and not bother us again.

REMARKS

Rev. E. C. Dinwiddie, D.D.

N. C. T., National Grand Lodge, International Order of Good Templars, Washington, D. C.

I was impressed with one thing that Mrs. Boole said in the course of her address; she did not see how she could say anything that had not been said during the convention or that would be said before it ended. I have been tremendously impressed that way myself.

I am here just to give you a word of greeting as it was my privilege to do at your last convention, a little over two years ago in Washington. We were a little bit uncertain, many of us in our groups, as to what we might be expected to do two years ago with reference to a coming conflict. I think we all agree now that we did the right thing. That brought the issue on in this country when prohibition was quite less than ten years old, as to whether a law duly enacted by constitutional provisions in a great democracy like ours, could be maintained and succesfully enforced.

We helped to secure the nomination and the election of a man who is taking his office seriously, who, as I said during the course of the campaign and as I believe now, knew more about this issue, about this question in all of its ramifications than the men who had preceded him in that office charged with the responsibility of enforcement, and I say that without any improper reflection upon those who went before. That, I understand, is your feeling. I assure you it is mine and the feeling of those with whom I am directly associated, that he shall have to the full measure of their ability, their unqualified support. I don't hesitate to go on and say this, in the face of the very serious problems, which by his election to the presidency we have put upon him. It is a hard job. Whenever you interfere with the appetites and customs and greed of men you have a hard job, and these executive officers of the United States deserve not simply our sympathy and our prayers and our apprecia-

tion, sitting on the side lines and cheering, they deserve our active united support in the difficult tasks which are theirs. I believe you are giving it to them. I believe the country is going to give to the President of the United States what he deserves. I bid you Godspeed. We ar together in this fight; we are working for a common end; we propose to see this thing through.

REMARKS

Rev. A. J. Irwin, D.D.

Secretary Ontario Prohibition Union

Greetings from the temperance people of Canada! We have met with some discouragements, up in our northern country, but we are not by any means dismayed. I have been listening to what you have been saying, and was very much impressed with the exercise that was put on this morning in relationship to the education of young people in the Temperance movement. We are feeling our way in the same direction, and we hope we will not be away behind you in the training of the coming generation, who will determine the matter of the extent and the permanence of prohibitory laws on this North American continent.

I want to refer to one thing very briefly. There are a good many things in our land that might be cited, as marking the disadvantages of the system that is so largely in effect there. There is one thing that is outstanding. During last summer, the Dominion Government, through its Department of Trade and Commerce, issued from the Bureau of Statistics a review of "The Liquor Traffic in Canada," covering the period from 1913 to 1928. That document, a copy of which I have here, has the imprint of the government and the name of the Minister of the Department of Trade and Commerce upon it. It is authoritative, it is unique, it is comprehensive, and, briefly, this is a summary of it:

It covers two periods, from 1913 to 1921, when we had advanced prohibitory laws. Please remember that we have never had in Canada a prohibition law such as you have here. We have a divided jurisdiction between the Federal power and the provincial power, the provincial power dealing only with retailing of liquor, the Federal power controlling license of manufacture. While we had in Ontario a prohibition law we had at the same time there four distilleries and 24 breweries manufacturing for export. The Province had no power to prevent such manufacture, and while this liquor was ostensibly intended for export, it was at one time stated by a Prosecuting Attorney that one-half of the liquor from a large distillery came back, short-circuited, into the Province, for domestic use. So we had our problem.

The second period covers the years 1922 to 1928, during which period eight of the Provinces came under one form or another of the policy called Government Control. Now, in this report, there are some seven different schedules covering various matters, criminal statistics, drunken drivers, arrests for intoxication, fines, things of that sort. There is only one point in the whole record that is favorable to Government Sale, and that is that there were less stills discovered in the latter part of the period than at a certain point in the early part of the last half.

All along the line, through the prohibitory period, there was progress toward the solution, and decrease in those inescapable products that come from the use of liquor. Our population increased 18 per cent, our manufacture of spirituous liquor shrank 45 per cent, of malt liquor 34 per cent. Our imports of spirits shrank 68 per cent and imports of malt liquors shrank 97 per cent. Between the years 1923 and 1928, with a population increase some-

where between 7 per cent and 10 per cent, manufacture of distilled liquors increased 202 per cent, manufacture of malt liquors, 58 per cent, manufacture of wines, 401 per cent; imports of spirits increased 103 per cent, imports of malt liquors 332 per cent and of wines 268 per cent. Between 1922 and 1928, consumption of spirits increased 98 per cent, of malt liquors, 52 per cent, wines, 350 per cent. You can see from that the success of a system that tries to make a nation sober by selling it strong drink. It will succeed about the time when water habitually flows uphill and the stars turn back in their course. We hope to join you in a completely dry America.

FRIDAY EVENING SESSION

BY-PRODUCTS OF PROHIBITION

Rev. M. P. Boynton, D.D.

Pastor of Woodlawn Baptist Church, Chicago, Illinois

All great reforms are measured over long centuries—that is, great evils are revealed in the march of the centuries. One hundred and fifty years ago, very definitely, and very rapidly, particularly in the last 80 or 90 years, the religious sanction was taken from strong drink and in our time we have seen that sanction nearly completely removed. It follows always that when the finger of religion points out a wrong, that act awakens the conscience of mankind in and out of the church and the next sanction that comes off is the legal sanction. You and I have lived to see in America not only the religious sanction removed from strong drink, but the legal sanction removed. The last one to be removed, and it is usually in this order, is the social sanction. That is long in removing; but at the White House we have a strong hand that is directing the removal of the social sanction. When the social sanction is gone, strong drink will have few friends left in America.

Sometimes we are afraid in the inauguration of a great reform. It takes courage to speak, to stand up and be counted. Ten years ago this week, as the guest of the Anti-Saloon League, invited by Doctor Safford, then superintendent of that League, I was on my way to Minneapolis to speak at the great banquet which was held on the night of January 16, 1920, and in the smoking car of the Pullman in which I happened to be, I was eager to tell the men, the three or four men gathered there, that this was the morning of the great day—last night at midnight the Eighteenth Amendment became effective, wherever our flag flies over United States territory. But there was one man in the smoking room I was afraid of. He was splendidly dressed; he was florid of complexion; he had watery blue eyes; he had a rather blossomy nose, ample person, and was pulling down one cigar after another. How I did wish that man would leave the room so I could talk to the other men! Time was passing—we were nearing the city—if I said anything to them I must do it now. I looked once more at this gentleman, and then I said, "Gentlemen, this is the 16th of January, and prohibition has become the law of this land." "By golly," said one of the men, "That's right," and then I heard the remark, "Think of the economic advantage of this thing. Think of all the money now that will be turned into other lines of living," and then the splendidly dressed man I had been afraid of, shook his cigar in my face and said, "I don't give a damn for the economic advantage. Think of the moral advantage! Think what it will do for the children and for the women of America; think of the ruined homes that will be saved! Think of the moral side of it!" I never saw a cigar make such righteous gestures in all my life, and then this red-faced man made the best prohibition speech of the crowd.

That was ten years ago. For me the Anti-Saloon League will always have the atmosphere of youth. In 1897, when I was pastor of our First Baptist Church in San Francisco, Doctor Howard H. Russell came with the societies of Christian Endeavor—their convention was held in San Francisco that summer—and he called together the ministers of the region and in the old Occidental Hotel I met for the first time Doctor Russell. He had black hair then and a black mustache and keen, kind eyes, which he still has, though his hair has turned snow-white now, and hearing the plan for the Anti-Saloon League I gave it my young heart and I have been with it ever since. And Doctor Russell is one of the youngest of us in spirit and in devotion to this cause. He is the perennial youth of the Anti-Saloon League of America.

Now I am to speak to you upon some of the by-products of prohibition. What is a by-product? Often a by-product comes unexpectedly. We do something as the main drive; we bring forth what might be called the master product, and later we have another value beside that master product, and that becomes a by-product. What was the main product of prohibition? What was the master purpose of prohibition, why was the Eighteenth Amendment put into the Constitution today? This, and it has done it completely—the Eighteenth Amendment has accomplished the main drive; it has removed forever the legal sanction of traffic in strong drink. That has gone forever. No longer under the flag anywhere can any government of any sort, national, state, county, municipal, village, dare to sanction the traffic in strong drink and take license from it. Now that is accomplished, let us come to these wonderful by-products. To read some of the literature that is put out so abundantly you would think, and many outside America believe, that we are drinking more than we ever drank before, of strong liquor. I remember Doctor Dilly, then pastor of the Methodist Church in San Francisco, away back in 1896, give this statement. He said that the per capita consumption of strong drink in America of all sorts was somewhere between 30 and 40 gallons and that if you could get it all together in one great tank and you made that tank sufficiently deep, you would have a tank big enough to float a warship. I suppose if you took all that liquor that was consumed many years after, in the per capita consumption, and assembled it a little above Niagara, you could substitute that annual consumption of alcoholic beverages for Niagara, and keep Niagara running for a minute or two.

That has gone in large part from our land. We no longer do these things. You youth have been born since then. That blot has gone. And as the high tide has receded there is left on the edges some wreckage, some reminders of it, but for the most part the job is pretty well cleaned up.

I never heard that we proposed to stop drinking, but you cannot sell it and use it legally. I have a friend who likes sauerkraut juice. You cannot account for tastes. I believe that in Germany they propose to use wood for food, and the day may come when the restaurants will present wood for food —"If you want strength, try our Oak Sawdust—if you want real pleasure try our Eucalyptus Sawdust—if you feel sad, try our Weeping Willow Sawdust" —you cannot account for tastes; but we know this, that these people through the years are rapidly dropping away from us. Look at the skyline of America, come in on any of our boats, through our ports, approach across the prairies or upon the avenues of any of our great cities, look at the billboards on the highways, all clean and free of the liquor lies that used to blaze in electric light all night long and insult the intelligence of America for a generation. Open your great papers and magazines. Those full pages of flattering, false advertisements are all gone. The press is wet in some particulars—but it does not advertise, and take money from its advertisements of strong

drink, as it did in former years. I do not know why so many great papers really great papers, take that attitude. We have one of the greatest papers in the world in Chicago, no doubt about that. The news of the world is on your breakfast table. It shows intelligence and great ability and vast investigation and unending energy to lay upon our tables these great papers. How remarkable it is that they are not on the right side of the moral advance of this great nation. What an immense help it would be if they would earnestly come to the support of the law and promote progress through prohibition. I do not know why they do not. It may be that they are subsidized from abroad. It may be that these special writers and cartoonists are paid for their work. I don't know. It looks to me as if human nature in its weakness rather than in its wickedness, has fallen for some subsidy in keeping up the fight against this advance of the race into sobriety, but I am very glad to report to you tonight that the Chicago "Tribune" has gone dry. It has gone dry in this respect, that you can read any part of the "Tribune" now in its news columns and its stories and its editorial comment, and you could get a "Tribune" of two years ago, and it would be just as fresh as today's paper. They have run out of new material. In that sense the "Tribune" has gone dry.

A young man sat at my side one day and informed me that alcoholism had greatly increased since prohibition came. It happened that we were passing through Dwight, Illinois, and the train was standing at the station, and I pointed through the window and I said, "There is the Keeley Institute. See that big building?" "Is that so? Is that the Keeley?" "See that sign over it—United States Veterans' Hospital?" I said, "The United States Government has taken over all that portion. You see that little building at the left? That used to be the Administration Building; now that is the only place in which they are treating alcoholics. If alcoholism is increasing in America why isn't that institution putting out wings and building new quarters to care for its victims?"

Laboring people and the poor used to drink; now it is the rich who are drinking and they can take care of their own alcoholics.

Wheeler once gave us these statistics. When prohibition came, there were 320 liquor cures in America, every one of them doing business, and at the time that I heard Doctor Wheeler make the statement he said there were less than 20 left in all America. I know this, in my own county of Cook, we had so many alcoholics that we did not treat them all at the county hospital but we had a special hospital at the Bridewell. As soon as prohibition was inaugurated that Bridewell hospital was emptied and has been closed and closed for years—ever since—and the county hospital added a few beds to treat alcoholism. In the great hospitals of America these alcoholic wards have closed; I have not heard of one of them opening. The alcoholics are treated in the other wards given over to other diseases; and of course when you read the statistics of Cook county, alcoholism has increased 100 percent. But they did not have any such cases before prohibition and they have all of them now.

But I am thinking of the other side—you and I, as we approach the great cities and run for miles and miles and miles among the homes. They tell me there is a great expenditure on homes, that the building associations cannot account for the change. Something has happened. These homes have gone up by tens of thousands and homeowners are increasing to an untold degree. I was talking with a steel man and I asked him if it was true that the steel workers were carrying liquors into the plant and drinking. "True—no! We have milk wagons; we have coffee. We are spending in our plant alone about $8,000 a year for coffee. We have wagons here and there and everywhere to

having now in America, and it can be rightfully said that prohibition has America pretty well cow-ed.

Think of all the schools, public schools, private schools, the buildings that have gone up, more automobiles than families in America—more than one for every family. Drinkers? I have seen just one intoxicated person since I came to Detroit. You may think I need an occulist, but that is all I have seen. I travelled across America two or three years ago and was a month on the trip and did not see one intoxicated person and did not see any signs of liquor anywhere in that whole trip and was out all times of the day and night. That pathetic little figure that was so abundant in our midst before prohibition, the drinker's wife doing a family wash, has disappeared and we have in her place the Wet Wash. Look at our legislatures—see the improved personnel in our state legislatures, and in the nation. Instead of those who had boozed and discredited themselves, those who had sold out to crooked organizations, the Anti-Saloon League has been electing to Congress and the legislatures such high types of men and women as to put out of business the under-color institutions of every legislative assembly in America.

Civic conscience was never so keen. Our people are voting in percentages never known before since our republic was born. In Cook county around Chicago we had a million people out on primary day and numbers of young people did the voting. Last time there was a 1,200,000 vote, just enough to sweep out of office almost every crook, every crooked politician who sat for re-election, and in their places finer men and women were put.

Let me speak to these young people upon what they can do in this great hour. A movement of youth into the Anti-Saloon League, not taking the place of the older heads but coming along, sitting beside the older folk, bringing your youth to Him who calls you. He stands in an archway; just here is the young ruler, with his face turned toward the way of the shadows. Here is the heap of debris from the city, the poor and lame and leprous and Jesus' hand is toward the poor, into the open, and His face is turned toward the young ruler, and the young ruler's face is sad and his eyes sorrowful, and at the back is the shadow, the deep, deep shadow, into which that young ruler goes. We do not know his name. He stepped into oblivion when he might have stepped out into the light; and American youth are standing tonight at the side of Jesus Christ. He is pointing into the open—out into its service, its sacrifices, its militant life for humanity and for Him. Back of Him the shadows. We welcome you to the open—to that life with Jesus Christ.

ADDRESS

HON. W. D. UPSHAW

Former Representative in Congress from Atlanta, Georgia

Youth is so beautiful, youth means so much to every agency that captures it, that there are a thousand voices calling unto youth. "Upward towards the heights of heaven climbs one pathway, steep and fell," but there are countless ways that lead downward into the depths. And because youth means so much to the agency that captures it we find ourselves stirred in endorsing what Doctor Boynton has so strongly stated, that there must be a peculiar kind of devil back of what we call the great newspapers and magazines and many of the politicians of this country giving their united efforts to break down American youth, turning them into scofflaws and teaching them not patriotism but teaching them to defy a pure-born constitutional law.

I think, men and women, that the most exasperating picture that we have

in America today is the picture of a bunch of so-called prominent lawyers in America's chief cities banding themselves together to give free legal assistance to those found violating this law. And then that other unspeakable picture of 371 artists and authors headed by a brilliant man from Kentucky with a great name, backing up their efforts and their plans and their senseless tirades, asking the youth, not to stand by the constitution and to practice sobriety but stimulating the youth to scoff and jeer with those who say that this law, passed by the most overwhelming majority of any amendment that ever entered the constitution, cannot be enforced by liberty-loving, patriotic America!

We deny that sort of thing as unworthy of America. And as some of you don't know to whom I refer, I refer to the fact that that union of 371 authors and artists thus engaging as an auxiliary to the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, that shames everything American, is headed by Irvin Cobb. I say it is a shame that such as those men and women who should be directing their genius and their energy to uplift the youth, are turning brush and pencil and pen into sticks of dynamite with which to destroy the constitution of the United States. As we think of that modern picture of youth, with the new impulse that we have had, many of us, we wipe the tears from our eyes as we think of the devotion to the high and holy purpose of observing the law that was born in truth and conceived in righteousness.

If I could say one word tonight that I would want these young people to carry away from here and be worth preserving, it would be Purpose—Purpose —Purpose! Not twenty-five, not ten, of the hundreds of young people under the tutelage of the wet press, have really learned what it means to have a purpose, devoted to country and to God. We know that such a purpose is a high and holy ambition.

When I got off the bed where I spent seven years I went to the school houses all over the state, trying to inspire the boys and girls to strive for higher and nobler aims, and I have made more than four million boys and girls over this country stand up and repeat the motto that took me off the bed where I had spent seven years, put me in college at 31, and put me in Congress, with the white flag of the W. C. T. U. shining over my head. I want every boy and girl, everybody who is now in school, to stand up, and everybody who ever did go to school, to stand up right quick. I want to give as an inspiration to them in all the discouragements that will come to them, the motto that I have taught to the boys and girls, "Let nothing discourage you; never give up!"

Lindbergh said, "Of all the presents that have been given to me since I flew across the ocean, nobody has ever presented me with a hip flask or a cocktail shaker." Nobody dares present him with the implements of the liquor traffic and the instruments of violation of the laws of this country. I am thinking of somebody else—I am thinking of Anne Morrow Lindbergh, who was sensible enough to choose and wise enough to be chosen by a clean, high-class man who does not smoke cigarettes and does not touch liquor in any form. Let's give Anne Morrow a cheer!

Some men are naturally born fools and some have to learn how to be, and they take the brightness of their intellect and the strength of their blood and lay them on the altar of folly. O, young America, the choice at this hour is up to you. You will need to do more than wave flags and sing "America the Beautiful" and the "Star-Spangled Banner." The call is to consecrate your lives to the high and holy purpose of patriotic American Christian citizenship.

REMARKS

TADEUSZ OLPINSKI

Secretary, Central League Against Alcoholism of Poland

It gives me great pleasure to have an opportunity of bringing you these greetings in the name of the Central League of Youth Against Alcoholism of Poland, and also as the representative of the Student League Against Alcoholism of Europe. It is well that the minds of the students all over the world are turned to the temperance question as the thought, the interest, of the best educated men and women is so necessary to this great question as it is necessary to every other great movement which requires workers and laborers.

The temperance workers all over the world are convinced that now is the opportunity to bring a challenge to the youth of the present time. They are convinced that the temperance movement will develop among the students and from that go into the country's life and then to the Legislature. The youth movement is the training of the actual workers, getting their interest, training them into practical workers. The great World War has been fought. A new war is coming and we are calling on all members to fight drunkenness. It is a great war. As in every other war, young people fight the battles —young people furnish the ammunition Young people furnish the weapons.

The youth of the present time is ready to make sacrifices. A great beginning has already been made. There are thousands of students studying this great question in schools here and there. They believe that the day will come when common sense and the sound judgment of people will bring about total abstinence from all that ruins the race. They are enlisted in this great war and they will see victory sooner or later, for the whole world will adopt the great principle for which we stand.

THE "SMART ALECKS"

REV. FRANK KINGDON, East Orange, New Jersey

We are in the midst of an intellectual reconstruction and on the fringes of those who are thinking their way through it in manful and thorough fashion, are a large group unusually gifted with vocal equipment, who only half understand what is going on, but who exploit their half-knowledge at the top of their lungs.

In our own day they constitute the cult of the "smart alecks" who choose to be witty rather than wise, to say smart things rather than true ones, and to excuse questionable practices rather than to uphold decent ones. In the midst of our contemporary turmoil their only rule is to rail against all that is old, and to cheer for all that is new.

They are particularly happy at the resurgence of any pre-human traits in men, and call them signs of maturity. Thus they persuade themselves they are worshipping progress when they are merely encouraging degeneracy. I have no objection to a man being smart, but I decline to follow a line of reasoning that exalts the jungle at the expense of ethical insight and advance.

Our contemporary half-digested thinking aims its most pointed shafts at all kinds of control in human experience, especially self-control. Thus it overlooks the fact that all the works of civilization are the products of men who are self-controlled, and that the enemies of our society are those who are not willing to submit to control.

This antipathy toward control is giving us our contemporary caricatures of the Puritan. The "smart alecks" enjoy few things more than taking their flings against the pioneers of New England. All I can say is, that any time

I had to face the rigors of a winter in the untamed wilderness of the Massachusetts coast of 1620, I would feel much safer in the leadership and company of Carver, Brewster, Standish and Alden, than in that of Mencken, Lewis, Erskine and Broun. These latter men will have to begin to speed up if they are going to accomplish as much or as heroically as those stern men who plowed a path through the seas for sweet liberty's sake, established in the new world government by consent of the governed, and gave the first impetus to the educational ideal which has characterized our history. Even in their own game of writing, the Puritans can offer these later literary men no less a standard than that of Milton, beside whose Satan Mr. Lewis' horrendous Elmer Gantry looks like little Lord Fauntleroy. If I have to choose between the "smart alecks" and the Puritans, I have not a moment's hesitation in choosing the latter.

The "smart alecks" are virulently opposed to Prohibition. And on every college campus and in every High School are little imitation "smart alecks" who try to prove what mighty men they are by carrying hip flasks, wise-cracking about their mothers' churches and their fathers' consciences, and playing up to be much drunker than they actually are, by making vulgar remarks, giving evidence of lack of muscular coordination, and being generally silly or obscene. By such procedure these adolescents try to prove themselves smart. But what do they actually prove?

The first thing they prove is that they have not brains enough to protect their physical well-being. There are three facts which stand as facts. They are not the ravings of a fanatic or the data of a special pleader. They are scientifically ascertained and approved facts. They are these. When alcohol enters the system, it goes straight to the brain and destroys brain cells as if they were cut off by a chisel. At the same time it causes the heart to overwork without giving it any extra nourishment to sustain the extra activity, with the result that life is shortened to such an extent that insurance companies include this as a factor in fixing their premium rates. Alcohol also paralyzes the white corpuscles which fight the body's health battles. This three-fold attack upon the brain, the heart and the blood stamps alcohol as a dangerous poison.

The foundation of any effective life is physical well-being. Unless a man has the stamina to carry the load which may be put upon his shoulders, he is bound to fail in the time of crisis which may come just as he is ready to bring his work to its consummation. This means that any young man or woman is giving odds to mediocrity and failure every time he puts alcoholic liquor in his system. The "smart alecks" who drink are simply proving that they have not brains enough to lay a good foundation for ultimate success as individuals.

The second thing they prove is that they have not brains enough to protect their economic well-being. If we are to attain the economic efficiency which is essential in our contemporary society, we must get the most possible out of the raw materials which we use and out of the human resources at our disposal. The attempt to do this has introduced mass production as the characteristic method of the manufacturer in our current world. Behind the machines also is the vast motive power of credit, which in the last ten years to an unprecedented degree has been extended to the consumer. In other words, three things stand back of our economic efficiency: man power, production and credit.

The free use of intoxicating beverages would strike at all three of these. As we have already said, it makes an individual less effective for it breaks down the perfect coordination of brain and muscle which is essential to an

effective production unit. Moreover it hinders production because it means a larger amount of time away from his work for the average worker. In the old days of the saloon it was nothing extraordinary to have five days elapse after a pay day before the workmen were back in full force. Meanwhile, of course, the machines were standing idle and the overhead was going on. Even men who are good workers ordinarily are made less skillful by drinking and, as a result, have to be discharged, which leads to the old costly business of a larger labor turnover. The free use of liquor destroys credit because it destroys confidence in the wage earner. Nothing is more striking than the fact that our individual credit system has grown in the ten years of Prohibition, a fact which must be more than a mere coincidence. It is also obvious that a free spending for liquor lessens the demand for other goods. In other words, alcohol is the foe of economic efficiency as it strikes at man power, production and credit. Thus the "smart alecks" who drink are simply proving that there is no connection between their brains and their economic interests.

The third thing they prove is that they have not brains enough to protect the institutions by which they live. We are being thrown more and more together by sheer force of the new inventions which have radically modified our ways of life. This means that we must learn to live together successfully in all our social contacts. More than ever before our generation is being called upon to develop a social conscience. The beginning of our social activities is in the home which is still, in spite of all the attacks upon it, the strategic center of human relations. Homes are gathered together into communities, which then become highly important as fixing the immediate social environment of those in the homes. Communities in their turn are gathered together in states and nations to which individuals give their devoted loyalty and which can prosper only as long as their citizens can have confidence in their integrity. Four things then are essential to social effectiveness: social conscience, the ideal of the home, clean communities and national integrity.

Those who are familiar in any way with the influence of alcohol upon personality will realize in a moment that it breaks down social control and all sense of social responsibility in the individual over whom it gains sway. I wish that by some gift of magic I might be able to draw aside the curtain and present to you the conditions which prevailed in the old days of the saloon. Homes were devastated, men turned into beasts, women enslaved and children terrorized by the passions that liquor let loose. If Prohibition had done nothing more in any direction than it has done to improve the homes of our people, I confess that that would be enough to make me a radical Prohibitionist from now to the end of my days. In those old days also the saloon was a recognized blot on the community and no street or neighborhood could be considered clean in which one of them was located. Moreover, the venal attitude of the liquor business toward politics, combined with their extravagant use of money made it impossible for any citizen to know whether his rulers were acting on their own judgment or were merely serving as tools for the liquor interest. We know in many cases that it controlled legislatures, governors of states and houses of congress. There have been times when we have wondered whether it did not even dominate the counsels of the White House. In every phase of its activities, from the individual to the nation, the liquor business has been the most anti-social element that has ever entered human society. "Smart alecks" who drink are simply proving that there is no connection between their brains and the social institutions by which they live.

The fourth thing they prove is that they have not brains enough to protect their individual liberty. The ideal of individual liberty has been seized upon by opponents of Prohibition as one of their stock appeals. As a matter

of cold fact, liquor has always been the foe of any true individual liberty. Historically it has been the weapon of the autocrat by which he has kept his subjects subdued. Politically it has been the tool of the boss who has used it to keep his cohorts in line. Individually it has muddied the minds and destroyed the self-control of those who have used it so that they have been made incapable of either their finest work or their happiest self-expression. The "smart alecks" who drink are not supporting individual liberty in any real sense, but are simply proving that they have not brains and self-control enough to keep them from the service of that traffic which has always been enlisted to destroy genuine liberty.

All these arguments are valid, no matter how coldly they may be stated, but they are fused into undeniable logic by the experiences into which the liquor business has plunged those of us whom it has touched more closely. I was born of a woman who always wore above her heart as noble a badge as any woman ever wore, the white ribbon of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union; as a growing boy I saw the heart beneath that badge break when sons born of her own flesh forgot their mother's love and wrecked their lives with alcohol. My father, like a High Priest of the family, would gather us about him and send his prayers to God for the children He had given him; I saw that father's head turn white and that father's shoulders stoop in shame because sons of his forgot their father's prayers and drowned their lives in drink. I had an elder brother whom I loved as my own soul and who had upon his shoulders as fine a head as was ever sculptured by the hand of God; I saw that head bowed to the level of the beast because men without conscience prostituted his weakness for their personal gain. Why am I opposed to the liquor business? Because it was my mother, my father, my brother? No! but because I learned then that intoxicating liquor is the foe of every woman who brings a child into the world, the enemy of every father who takes a pride in his sons and a threat against the manhood of every clear-eyed, growing boy. Because the liquor interests taught me that, my tongue shall cleave to the roof of my mouth ere I shall be silent when opportunity comes to raise my voice against this evil traffic; my hand shall hang palsied at my side ere I shall cease to raise it at every chance I have to strike a blow that will help to drive this thrice accursed thing out of our public life forever.

SATURDAY MORNING SESSION

LEAGUE METHODS

Rev. O. M. Pullen

Superintendent, West Virginia Anti-Saloon League

Methods in League work have by years of trial and experiment been pretty well standardized into general rules of activity. It is necessary, however, to vary our plans to meet new conditions as they arise, and to maintain interest in our work.

In ten minutes one cannot be expected to enter into detail, even mention all methods employed. The best that can be done is to offer a few suggestions and open the general discussion.

The churches, some 36 years ago, in their efforts to reduce drinking to the minimum, and thereby lift our common humanity a little nearer toward God, felt the necessity of organization to this end. Certain fundamental principles underlying the application of this effort to our complicated political life had to be adhered to at all hazards. By the very circumstances of the

case, the movement was compelled to be non-partisan, interdenominational, and intensely practical in its methods.

It faced an organized liquor traffic with plenty of money, effective methods and the best legal advice obtainable, that always supported the most subservient of the wet candidates and wet measures regardless of party affiliations.

Our organization must continue to deal as heretofore with one subject only in order to have access to the pulpits of militant Christianity to put on its program of civic righteousness. It must give the people the facts about beverage liquors and the attitude on temperance and prohibition of all candidates for public office. It must constantly be loyal to its purpose to "exterminate the beverage liquor traffic" and support only dry men and dry measures without reference to political affiliations.

Dr. Howard Hyde Russell, of Ohio, was given the position under the blessings of Heaven to originate, help organize, direct and maintain the League and give it methods that have made it a marvel of success. The effectiveness of the League's methods result from its employing legitimate plans of organization in politics by which it has met and overthrown the control of elections by the beverage liquor interests so long held by them. The "church in action" by insisting on the selection of good men for public office and for civic righteousness in government through any political party that will meet these requirements, has met and vanquished the enemy on his own ground.

Because of the effectiveness of these methods, the friends of beverage alcohol misrepresent us, fight us and hate us as they do no other organization in America.

Dating and Church Meetings

We find that the dating of churches in our state can be more effectively done by a personal representative from our office who knows the fight. When convenient, we insist that he shall take a little time to inform the minister of the latest activity of our enemies, as well as what the League is doing to meet their efforts, so that he may prepare his people for the message.

The effectiveness of the church meeting at the regular service hour in promoting the League programs cannot be over-emphasized. This has been one of the chief ways of disseminating information, building sentiment, arousing interest, stirring enthusiasm and establishing contacts as well as one of the leading methods of financing the work. Our leaders are anxious that this shall continue until the goal is finally reached.

Distribution of Literature

Church meetings, generally speaking, are the most fertile fields we can find for the distribution of our literature. If this literature dealing with some phases of the work emphasized in the address is distributed at the door as the congregation is leaving the church it promises a larger percentage of effectiveness by being read that day. The best way, however, to keep our people informed is to continue sending them "The American Issue." It contains the facts with which to meet all the false propaganda afloat.

We distribute literature at all our meetings, through the mails, enclosed in statements and letters, and through a number of voluntary distributing agencies that help us reach the public. Our little organizaion in West Virginia handled about eighteen tons of literature in the last campaign.

Financial Activity

Every church and every pastor knows the League needs money. Our efforts in this direction take no small amount of time and energy. Many

churches would cooperate with us, at least to the extent of having an address in their pulpits, if it were not our well-known custom to take an offering. It is necessary, therefore, to enlist voluntary soldiers publicly and privately on all proper occasions in order to finance the work. When the fighting is vigorous and the enemy seems to be gaining ground, we have cooperation and voluntary financial aid sufficient to meet the situation. It is only when we go over the top with a great victory like that of 1928, in which our State gave a majority of 112,000 in round numbers for President Hoover and at the same time put in more than half of the sheriffs from the opposite party to secure local law enforcement, that our people feel that the victory is complete. Such a victory is immediately followed by their temporary withdrawal from the fight.

It has been the history of our League that as soon as our soldiers lay down their arms and go home saying the fight is over that we cut down the overhead and reduce our force to the point where we can live within our income. With no "dead mule" to pay for, and with the nucleus of our organization intact, when another campaign lines us we find it easier to raise the necessary money to finance our work.

Campaign Methods

When a campaign is on and the candidates are lined up, a report on the candidates is then worked out. It is often necessary to go to several of our level-headed dry leaders in both parties and get the facts concerning those persons running for office. It is a good plan to note down at the time under each candidate's name just what our people think of him and in this way arrive at a cross-section view that will be very near the truth. In any event the man's character, past life and general reputation will do much to throw light on his possible attitude. If he is known to be friendly it is a good plan to see him and have a few minutes with him concerning our program. Should he check up wrong and if his election would in any way imperil our program we simply form alignments and get ready to give battle. We sometimes help our dry political leaders get out another candidate for the nomination. And if we fail to nominate we then go with all of our force to the other party candidate in the election, provided he is dry. A Primary victory that gives two drys for the same office is much to be preferred. It ends our participation in the campaign for that office. As an example of our method, if the wet candidate is running for office county wide we set up an executive committee of five or six persons of both parties in the county seat and then secure a list of two active dry voters, a man and a woman in either party for every voting precinct in the county and one man and one woman voter in each party to represent the magisterial districts in the county and work with the executive committee. We then mail this committee organization from our office full information, telling them what has been done, and the position they have been asked to fill and thus enlist their help with our program. We also, as soon as possible, enlist the support and help of the newspapers that are willing to work with us.

When the report on the candidates has been made as complete as we can get it, and a state-wide fight is on, we print one report for every three people. When the contest is most spirited we send two reports for every voter.

It should constantly be borne in mind that if the League is to be cooperated with by the political leaders and maintained by its constituency at full fighting strength it is of great importance that it crystallize the moral sentiment aroused by winning elections at the ballot box.

By this method we have elected dry candidates by good majorities over

the wet candidate whose party in the county had a normal vote of more than two to one in its favor. For example, in a recent election an unsatisfactory candidate whose party had a majority of 2,000 votes out of 5,000 voters was defeated by a majority of some three hundred votes. This occurred in both parties in our state in the same election. The same method applies to candidates in judicial, senatorial and congressional districts, and to state-wide candidates.

In the last campaign a certain judicial circuit gave more than 7,000 votes majority for the dry candidate for President and at the same time defeated the unsatisfactory candidate for judge on the same ticket by more than 300 votes majority. This method is effective in the direct ratio in which the facts concerning the candidates are presented to the electorate.

Securing Legislation

When legislation is needed, we find it well to agree upon the measures we desire enacted with the various groups and organizations that work with us early in the campaign that is to elect the Legislature. The proposed legislation, when agreed upon, is carefully explained to the constituency of all the groups as well as to the candidates for the legislature. A bill embracing the measures desired is drawn by some competent attorney, in whom the groups have confidence. It is submitted to these groups for approval before the meeting of the legislature.

In the organization of the legislature the members committed to our program or friendly to it must see that candidates for presiding officers in both houses will commit themselves to the appointment of committees favorable to our measures, and that will treat us fairly in every step necessary in the passage of our bills. Immediately upon the appointment of the committee the proposed bill is introduced into both houses and referred to the appropriate committee. These committees must at once be informed fully as to the measure and as to the groups and organizations backing it.

With the amount of interest we now have around the Prohibition issue there will be certain outstanding Prohibition leaders in both houses and it is usually safe to have the bill in each house introduced by one of these members. It is rather fundamental in a hard fight to have all the Prohibition groups a unit for the measure and keep the leaders of these groups informed as to the progress of the bill.

In our state the first reading and advancement is simple and easy. A great deal of care and thought, however, should be given to the bill when it reaches its amendment stage and if the body has been properly polled, the average worker can soon tell the measures that the house will really pass. It has been our experience that a small group of determined wets can, by amendment, destroy our bill and our friends must see that the measure goes through without the dotting of an **i** or the crossing of a **t**. It has sometimes taken hours by roll calls on each amendment to defeat its becoming a part of the bill. But if we can get our leaders to take this rather slow method of crushing opposition to the bill by having record votes made it can be used very effectively in the next campaign to prevent the return to the legislature of such members as oppose it in this way. When the bill has passed the amendment stage in both houses, it is simply a matter of roll call when it comes up on third reading and its passage.

Pressure From Constituents

The leaders back home must be constantly informed of the progress of the bill and can at the proper time hasten its passage by calling upon their members for prompt action. This is done by letters, petitions, telegrams and

personal conferences. We once had a bill on third reading which had passed the Senate and our dry leader in the House was a little fearful to bring it up without some pressure. I was out of the city. He held it on third reading for some three days until I returned, and then insisted that the groups for the measure should give him some pressure. By night letters, telegrams and telephones, at a cost of about a hundred dollars, the dry leadership of the State reached their respective members of the House and the measure that was thought in question was passed without a dissenting vote.

Methods of Aiding Observance and Enforcement

The League, by its contacts in practically every community, is in a position to receive information in confidence concerning the violation of the Prohibition law and the trustworthiness of the officials charged with its enforcement. When this information is received it should be placed in the hands of some principal enforcement agency in order that a speedy effort may be made to apprehend and punish the criminal. This information in our state is generally given directly to the State Prohibition Department, which is charged with enforcement of all Prohibition laws. The head of the department usually reports to the League what was done in the case. In this way we are able to inform our people of just what action is taken in the matter. This is one of the important functions of our League.

Conclusion

In conclusion, by these methods only briefly outlined in these few minutes, West Virginia in the last two years has witnessed the greatest non-partisan, moral victories in the history of our League. We have succeeded in the election of practically all of our dry candidates. We have greatly strengthened our enforcement by amendment at our recent session of the Legislature in several particulars, but especially by our statute prohibiting and punishing public drunkenness, and taking away license to operate motor cars from drunken drivers.

The influential dry political leaders of both parties are working with us, as well or better than ever in the past, and our moral forces were never before so well organized. They have a clear understanding of each other's obligation to hold their respective sectors of the dry line and are harmonious and united in their determination "to carry the War into Africa" and to maintain and safeguard Prohibition and the ideals and institutions of our Commonwealth.

Judging Candidates

H. E. Dawes

Superintendent, Anti-Saloon League of South Dakota

One of the most difficult things that we have in our work is to find out the facts about the candidate. In the matter of judging it has been true from the beginning of time when a judge sat upon the bench that he considered the ideal that he had in mind, that is, the ideal of perfection, and then he punished the man before him according to his failure to reach the ideal that was in the mind of the judge.

About twenty-five years ago, in judging work, particularly in competitions, we began to use a score card. I do not know just where it began nor whose idea it was, but it was about that time, and in the use of the score card it was found that more accurate judgment could be secured than without such use. So satisfactory was it in that field that it spread throughout the work of judging all kinds of contests—agricultural and stock handling, even the better babies contests— and the agricultural societies throughout the nation began

to get out their score cards and make a comparison and study of what began with the score card in the better babies' contests.

Two years ago we extended that principle of judging to the judging of candidates. There has been handed you a copy of the score card we use. It is self-explanatory; the basis and methods are given on the back of the card, and the only question that will arise in your mind is as to whether or not we have put into the card the things that should be in and whether we have the right balance. If you want to use the card and think we have made some mistakes you correct it and change it in any way you like, but the system of judging a candidate by some kind of a standard of perfection that is within the mind of the elector must be carried out. The voter carries it out at elections, when he goes into the voting booth. He judges the candidate. We simply evolved this method of entering it down on a score card and our use of it is to send these out to the various groups and they give us the score beforehand and we check up and when we get the thing averaged and analyzed we report back as to what our judgment is based on the information received. This simply records that method of judging. We have a certain ideal in mind. The person filling out the details of this card may not have the ideal, but we have, and if we get some kind of a report on that and then strike an average, we very nearly get the right judgment to report back to the people who are depending on the officials of the League in the various states to tell them about these candidates. The card we use is as follows:

Score Card For Candidates

Score card method of judging the qualifications of candidates. Basis 100 points being perfection. Score is made by cuts according to defects as judged by the elector.

NAME OF OFFICE..... NAME OF CANDIDATE.....

Score

		Score
GENERAL APPEARANCE	5 Points	.....
INTELLECTUAL QUALIFICATIONS		
Education:		
Graduate of Grade, High School or College (Check which)	10 Points	.....
Ability as public speaker and experience	10 Points	.....
MORAL QUALIFICATIONS		
Prohibition sentiments and practice	50 Points	.....
Record, Official or Civic	15 Points	.....
Church Affiliations	2 Points	.....
Family relations	2 Points	.....
Observance of Sabbath	2 Points	.....
Associations (Kind of company kept)	2 Points	.....
Membership in Lodges and Fraternal Societies	2 Points	.....
	100	

Explanation

The total of defects or deficiencies noted to be substracted from the 100 points or perfection and the remainder would be the standing of the candidate in the judgment of the person filling out the score card.

Education

Educational qualifications would not necessarily be as high for a candidate for the office of sheriff as they would be for a member of the legislature or gov-

ernor. Judgment here should be in accordance with the position for which the person is a candidate. To illustrate: If you are judging a candidate for sheriff you would not disqualify because of lack of college education, but if you were judging candidate for governor or member of Congress, lack of college education might be regarded as a disqualification.

Moral Qualifications

(Sentiments and practice in regard to prohibition.)

If the candidate believes in modification or nullification of our constitutional and statute law or believes the so-called personal liberty doctrines on the question of prohibition, judgment should be zero on prohibition sentiments. If while in office wet appointments have been made or endorsed score this disqualification according to judgment.

Family Relations

If the candidate has a family but lives apart or is divorced from husband or wife, cut according to such disqualifications.

Other items should be judged and cut by the elector in accordance with what he believes proper observance of the Sabbath, suitable associations for occupants of this office and proper conduct for members in our churches, lodges and fraternal societies.

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HOW THE LEAGUE CONDUCTS CAMPAIGNS

J. Bibb Mills

Superintendent, Anti-Saloon League of Alabama

The League from the beginning has always insisted on having one clear-cut issue, and never allows itself to be jockeyed out of position. Our issue must always be against beverage alcohol. Never make a personality the issue, for then the strength of the cause will be the weakness of that personality. If we have the issue clear-cut we can always win except in a few large cities, and even there we will make substantial gains.

The reason we have always succeeded in the past is that we first had the issue plain and then organized our forces on that issue. Use your head instead of your heels if you want to win. All campaigns, whether elective or legislative, are helped materially by diplomacy.

In your organization do not elect as your campaign manager your best speaker but select the man who is the best executive. Campaigns have been lost by making this blunder. I have seen the campaign manager at the other end of the state on a speaking tour when he ought to have been at headquarters managing affairs and adjusting difficulties. Make your organization complete down to the very last precinct. The reason the "Solid South" was broken in the 1928 campaign was because of prohibition being the outstanding issue and because of the superior organization of the dry forces. It was strong enough to overcome the strongest of prejudices and the most bitter campaign which has ever been conducted in a presidential year in the South.

This is a moral fight. Use preachers, church officials and women as your key-workers. As Bishop Hughes said in Chicago four years ago, the preachers must not yield their primacy in the fight. It is my experience that the more the liquor forces abuse the preachers and women the more they increase our majority. When the liquor politicians say they will drive the preachers back to their pulpits and starve out the "political parsons" they arouse a storm of righteous indignation which overwhelms them.

In your organization you should have committees covering every phase of

the campaign, such as Finance, Publicity, Speakers, and a Political committee, whose duty it shall be to secure voting lists and so organize the state, from Congressional district down to the smallest voting unit so as to reach every voter. You will find that these general committees will naturally be subdivided into smaller committees looking after different phases of the work under the general subject. In connection with your general campaign you should get the best publicity man available.

In our state in the last campaign we organized under another name than the Anti-Saloon League. We first called a convention of all the temperance forces of the state and elected a chairman for the entire state, together with secretary and treasurer, and one man and one woman from each Congressional district, and two men and two women from the state at large, all of whom composed the state campaign committee. The state campaign was under the direction of the general organization while the members from the Congressional districts organized each county in their respective districts in the same manner, so that there was one man and one woman in charge of every unit in the state down to the last precinct. This general form of organization can be adapted to any state and if manned by intelligent, enthusiastic and consecrated men and women they can carry any state in this Union.

It cannot be over emphasized that the trinity for success in any campaign is proper financing, complete organization for reaching the voters, and a state-wide and intensive campaign of publicity through newspapers, the printed page, speaking, and the radio when possible. If any one of these is neglected there is likely to be defeat. But it must also be borne in mind that all of this will count for nothing unless the votes are gotten into the ballot-box on election day and honestly counted.

BORDER CONDITIONS IN THE GREAT SOUTHWEST

Rev. R. E. Farley

Superintendent, Anti-Saloon League of New Mexico

Arizona and New Mexico, being the crossroads of the oldest and the newest civilizations of the Western hemisphere, present the most unique situation found anywhere in the United States. The rugged mountain cliffs honeycombed with the caverns, the broad mesas capped with ruined pueblos, and the deserts traversed by the remains of ruined irrigation canals, all were the habitation and handiwork of a great civilization of which there is neither document nor tradition.

The Indian life, representing one-fourth of the total population of the two states, which is found in every stage of evolution, from the crude Apache in his mountain tepee, the blanket-weaving silversmiths of the nomadic Navaio in the North, the snake-dancing Hopi with his barbaric religion of the yesterdays, through to the most refined and cultured civilized Indian of the modern day, alone presents a tremendous problem.

Forty percent of the entire population of the two states are the descendants of the result of the intermarriage that grew out of the Spanish Conquest, and contain among their number some of the finest old families that are the heritage of the Spanish-Mexican regime. For the most part, these people of Spanish descent still adhere to the use of the Spanish language among themselves, and being closely interwoven in contacts socially, politically and economically with the population of Anglo-Saxon descent, there is thus produced an inter-racial contact found nowhere else in the world to such a large degree. In New Mexico interpreters are still used in the halls of legislation and in the

courts, and no legislative act becomes a law until it has been published in both the English and Spanish languages.

Closely adjacent are to be seen the sandaled natives sitting in the sun, given over to meditation, amidst an environment of sunshine, silence and adobe, and the bustling Yankee real estate developer rearing his towering sky-scrapers in the rapidly growing cities.

One of the greatest problems is created by the vast corporations of Eastern capital employing in the mines teeming thousands of laborers of foreign birth or extraction, possessing little knowledge of the basic ideals of average American life. These great enterprises are literally pulling down mountains with their steam shovels, and outside of the items of taxation and wages, there is little contact with the general social and economic life of the two states. These centers of the mining industry are almost uniformly, to say the least, out of harmony with the ideals that we stand for.

Stretching from the head of the Gulf of Lower California, through rugged stretches of barren mountains and wild cacti-covered unpopulated areas of desert, clear across the southern border of both states, with the monotony of silence broken only by the little cities of Nogales and Douglas, Arizona, and the villages of Hachita and Columbus, New Mexico, is an international border of nearly a thousand miles, unguarded save for an occasional troop of negro soldiers, occasional stretches of barbed-wire fences, and a few heroic souls in the employ of the United States government who represent the Customs, Immigration, Federal Narcotic and Federal Prohibition Services.

It is not an indictment of our sister republic to the south, to say that, with these vast unpopulated areas on either side of the borderline, with open liquor traffic to the south, and little regulation of the production, sale and transportation of narcotics, there exists an open invitation to the rum-runner and the smuggler of narcotics and undesirable aliens. I am betraying no secret of the prohibition and narcotic service when I say that, despite the best efforts of the heroic men in the services, daily and nightly, taking their lives in their hands, there exists an almost open road upon this border for the introduction of liquor and narcotics into the United States.

The vast majority of the people of the United States are possessed of the romantic idea that the smuggling of narcotics into the United States is done by the sandaled, black-pajamed Chinaman slipping through the dark alleyways of our great cities, marketing smuggled, forbidden wares from the Orient. The facts are, that, in our judgment, the greatest source of illegal narcotics ,in the United States, is the fields of poppies, mariwana and other drug-producing herbs grown by the thousands of acres down the west coast of Mexico, and especially along the coast of Lower California.

In view of the fact that the United States government, through its acreage of national forests upon the mountains and the high tablelands, containing the largest uncut forest area in America today, its vast areas of grazing and desert land, national parks and Indian reservations, thus owns a large majority of the actual area of these two states, it is an utter impossibility for these states to receive sufficient tax revenue to properly protect hemselves against the dangers of this border. Coconino, the largest county, geographically speaking, in the United States, is expected to police its own territory, in the face of the fact that the majority of the population are Indian wards of the Government and but 11 percent of the area of the County is owned by private citizens, and therefore subject to taxation.

There are but two alternatives whereby this problem can be solved. Either,

the United States Government must see its way clear to properly police its own vast areas of land holdings in these two states and give adequate protection to the international boundary, or, it must deed to the states its vast acreage of holdings so that the states in turn can receive an adequate revenue from the grazing, mineral and timber resources to enable them to police themselves.

Despite the fact that New Mexico is the fourth, and Arizona the fifth, largest states geographically in the Union, there has never been, since the enactment of national prohibition, a general average throughout the year of more than eight prohibition agents to the state, and from one to three federal narcotic agents per state.

I have no disposition to be critical of Dr. Doran and Col. McNutt in the administration of their departments in these two states. They have continuously shown a wonderful spirit of cooperative friendliness to these situations and demonstrated a desire to bring about results, but our situation seems, some way or another, to get lost in a maze of administration and appropriative estimates that do not seem to materialize for our help.

We have continuously recommended the placing of these two states in one prohibition administrative district, being similar from every angle of approach and in problems of practical enforcement. Their constitutional amendments are practically the same, automatically eliminating the whole Federal permit system and leaving the matter of prohibition enforcement practically free from the usual maze of overhead expenses in the way of gauging wineries and breweries and medical permits that require expensive inspection of doctors and drug stores. The border conditions, questions of racial contact and language, the physical conditions of mountain and desert, the problems of sparsely settled areas, and an interlacing system of railways, highways and communication, all make them similar in problem, while their connection at the present time with other states whose problems are totally dissimilar, one in one district and one in another, creates a condition of impracticability for the exchange of officers and a general knowledge of procedure.

A typical illustration of what I am trying to say was the distribution of the budget for the Twenty-second District when the State of Arizona was coupled with Southern California for Federal prohibition administrative purposes. Out of a total budget of approximately $250,000,000, Arizona received for Federal administration approximately only $25,000.00.

With these two states thrown together in one district, under an administrator who understands the problems peculiar to this border area, and with an adequate appropriation in proportion to that now being allowed other states, and with the public sentiment that exists in favor of prohibition enforcement, great progress could be made.

It has long been our judgment that, at least here on the border, there ought to be some agency of closer cooperation between the several federal departments dealing with this situation, such as the Customs, Immigration, Border Patrol, Narcotic, Prohibition Enforcement, U. S. Attorney's office and U. S. Marshal's office, than now exists. The vast distance that separates them from Washington, the centralized authority, the fact that all of these departments report separately, the very cumbersomeness of the machinery of operation, all are preventives of practical enforcement. All of these Federal agencies have shown a fine spirit of cooperation as far as their authority extends, and we have only compliments for them, but their appropriations are so small and their men so few that it is a marvel that so much is accomplished under the present arrangement.

We do not want to be understood as bringing a message of pessimism or

complaint. Under the fine, outspoken, positive leadership of our great President splendid progress has been made. We believe, in our district, greater progress has been accomplished in the last year than in the previous nine years. We are looking forward with a spirit of optimism to the ushering in of that great day when the Southwest, together with the rest of our great nation, shall have brought this great crusade to the distinction of a complete victory.

THE WET PROGRAM TO DESTROY PROHIBITION

H. T. Laughbaum

Superintendent, Anti-Saloon League of Oklahoma

Soon after the Eighteenth Amendment and Volstead Law became effective The Association Against The Prohibition Amendment was organized and incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia. They have national offices in Washington, D. C., and New York City. They are organized in Oklahoma with headquarters in Tulsa, and The National League of Personal Liberty have their office in Oklahoma City. The Association Against The Prohibition Amendment began their fight to strike the alcoholic standard of ½ of 1 percent measured by volume from the Volstead Law. I had the honor of writing that standard in the first prohibition law that ever fixed it as the standard and the first legislature of the State of Oklahoma enacted it into law and we are proud of the fact that Congress followed Oklahoma by placing it in the Volstead Law. Under this standard if there is any question about the liquor involved in any prosecution the Government may employ a chemist and have it analyzed and if it contains ½ of 1 percent or more measured by volume prosecution may proceed and the question as to intoxication never enters the case. Should this standard be destroyed and the words "intoxicating in fact" be put in its stead in every case the burden of proof would be on the Government and it would be left to a jury to decide whether the liquor in question was intoxicating and we know what juries often do. The wets have been fighting for beer and wine. They have been filling the newspapers and magazines with their propaganda in behalf of beer and wine. They have been trying to make us believe if we would only permit by law the manufacture and sale of beer and wine that would solve this great question, that there would be no more moonshiners, no more bootleggers and no more drunkards. Any one believing that nonsense is a fit subject for the home for the feeble minded. The fight to raise the alcoholic content in beer is to raise it until beer again becomes a habit-forming drink, so the old alcoholics, the victims of the saloon, will consume it in large quantities, and if our young people drink that beer they will form the habit and become the future beer drinkers of America to enrich the brewers, and not for law enforcement. The only way to get rid of the moonshiner and bootlegger is for men and women to quit drinking the stuff. If there were no one to drink it there would be no moonshiners or bootleggers. The drinkers are responsible for all these. Those who drink the most howl the loudest against the Prohibition Laws and say they are a farce and cannot be enforced. They seem to think the whole world is made up of their kind and their associates. They seem to think the world has gone to the bowwows and say that 90 per cent of the homes are making home brew. That is a lie of the devil and the wets. They remind me of a story. A drunk man was sitting one night asleep in a saloon. The bartender went to him and rubbed some limburger cheese under his nose. It soon woke him up and he got up and went out of the saloon. Pretty soon he opened the saloon door and came back in. The tears were running down his cheeks. He said, "Ain't it awful?" Some one

asked, "What's awful?" and he said, "The whole world stinks." They seem to think the whole world is made up of the same kind of atmosphere that they live in.

The wets are bringing about the repeal of the State Prohibition Laws as rapidly as possible, and have succeeded in New York, Wisconsin, Montana and Nevada. If a state law is repealed it takes the authority away from every state, county and municipal officer to enforce prohibition, and leaves it in the hands of a few Federal Prohibition officers to enforce. For example in Oklahoma we have only 13 Federal Prohibition officers counting the Administrator. It is physically impossible for 13 officers to enforce any law in a state of over 2,000,000 people. The purpose of repealing the state prohibition laws is to make it impossible to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment so it will come into disrepute and the people in their disgust will repeal the Eighteenth Amendment and legalize the liquor traffic again.

The Association Against The Prohibition Amendment are issuing a number of pamphlets. Two of them I wish to mention here. One entitled, "Cost of Prohibition and Your Income Tax," is being sent to the bankers and other monied interests. In this they argue that if we would only permit the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages by law no one would have any income tax to pay. The liquor manufacturers and sellers would pay this tax. The other pamphlet I wish to mention is entitled, "Purpose, Program and Policy." On page 2 under "General Program" we find the following:

1. The repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

2. The modification of the Volstead Act as a measure of partial relief.

3. The adoption by the States of systems of liquor control based on thorough investigation and study of the successful methods of other countries.

The wets are carrying on a systematic program to win our young people by poisoning their minds against prohibition for they know nothing of the evils and tragedies of the saloon. Every boy and girl in Oklahoma who was 22 years old November 16th, 1929, or younger, was born since the saloons in Oklahoma were closed. We have 1,000,000 of our young people in the colleges of the United States, 4,000,000 in our High Schools, 20,000,000 in our grade schools and 20,000,000 000 still younger who know nothing about the saloons. This is virgin soil. Who is cultivating it? Our newspapers and magazines are filled with wet propaganda, wet cartoons and wet jokes. Whenever a Federal Prohibition officer kills a moonshiner or bootlegger the papers play it up and some go so far as to call the officer a murderer, but when a Federal Prohibition officer is killed by a moonshiner or bootlegger a very small space is given to the matter and then in a very obscure part of the paper.

In conclusion we believe the time has come when we must teach the evil effect of alcohol on the human system in our public schools as vigorously as we did in the day of the saloons; that we must re-establish Temperance Sunday once a quarter in our Sunday Schools; that we must teach the children in our homes about the evils and tragedies of the saloon and the evil effects of alcohol on the body, both physically and mentally.

Millions of us who lived in the day of the saloon are being carried out to the silent city of the dead every year. It will not be long until we all will be sleeping out there. Our children, grand-children and great grand-children will be the voters, congressmen, and legislators. Who is going to win these? There are two forces at work, evil forces and good forces. Which will win?

REMARKS

W. N. Plymat

National President, Students' Sobriety Society, Mankato, Minn.

We started this new organization for sobriety and total abstinence, among the high school students of Minnesota. We started with four high school students in Mankato. We started under adverse conditions and adverse criticisms. We worked very hard; the fight extended into other cities, and now we have twenty societies in the state of Minnesota made up of high school boys and girls. If there is anything the wets are trying to do it is to poison the minds of the people. I have gone to many high schools, over twenty, and I know from what I have seen, in Minnesota, that the young people are dry. I went to one high school where they claimed they had a case of drunkenness. I spoke to two classes of boys and girls, and said, "I put it up to you. If you want to support the President and if you believe in enforcement—if you believe in government, opposed to nullification, I want to see you at the conclusion of this speech." There were about 50 boys in the room. About 20 of them walked up and the one case who had been drinking, led them. In my own town of Mankato there were 147 saloons before prohibition came. You had to pass 17 saloons to get to my father's law office. Today there are none.

I have come here to get more advertising for our organization. If we get the advertising we can go out all over the country. We are publishing a small paper. We are trying to do everything we can to get the youth to sign up. We want to get the youth and get as many of them as we can. I can give them a temperance lecture and they go back and forget about it but if we get them to sign a pledge and get into an organization they are not going to turn back. Ten or fifteen years from now, many of these prominent drys who lead this movement are going to be gone, and the future of the whole thing will rest upon whether the high school student is to be dry or not. The wets cannot go out with an educational campaign for liquor. They have no substitutes for the evils of liquors. You cannot have liquor without having liquor results. The educational program of the Anti-Saloon League is the big thing and I hope it goes over big. I am going to do all I can to help.

OUR FIGHT IN MONTANA

W. L. Wade

Superintendent of Montana Anti-Saloon League

As this young man was speaking I thought to myself, What's the matter with Minnesota? Minnesota gave us the man whose name is connected with our Federal Prohibition code; Minnesota gave us our Federal Prohibition Commissioner; Minnesota gave us the man who succeeded Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt as the assitant attorney general in charge of prohibition enforcement; Minnesota gives us that young man, that splendid young fellow we have just heard, who leads out in this great movement for the signing of the pledge. I am glad that Montana is not very far from Minnesota!

I want to speak to you for a few moments about Montana. I shall take the same subject that was assigned to Mr. Upchurch, "Our Fight in North Carolina," but I shall make it "Our Fight in Montana."

In 1916 the state of Montana adopted state-wide prohibition by a majority of over 28,000. In that year we find that Montana's prairies were alive with men and women from Illinois, Minnesota, the Dakotas and Iowa, and other western states. Several tracts had been thrown open for dry farming. But trouble came; drouth after drouth followed, and those people, after having

voted Montana dry, moved away and a large section was left in the hands of the mining people and the lumber interests and that class of folks. It is hard for you people in the east to realize how the population of many of these western states can scatter and separate in three or four years' time. It will be interesting for you to know that on our five-year subscriptions taken during 1916 campaign, more people paid up those subscriptions after leaving Montana than there was of those who remained in the state.

In 1926 the wets initiated a measure to repeal our state prohibition law. They used every argument to confuse this thing in the minds of the voters. Wets were appointed to enforce the federal prohibition law in our state, and so we went to work to change that condition and we have changed the state prohibition administrator into a dry one, and we changed a wet federal district attorney who is now the chief bootleggers' attorney of our state, into a former attorney general who holds one of the best records as federal district attorney of any man in the United States. The wets saw they would have to do away with the state law or go to jail, so they went to work. They don't pay any attention to the truth. They went out and told the wets to be for repeal and it would help to get modification. They told the bootlegger to vote for repeal and it would save his going to jail; they told the drys to vote for repeal and that would get better prohibition enforcement because it would put the whole responsibility on the federal government; told the farmers to vote for repeal and it would reduce taxes. Our people, the drys, were so confident that the state law would not be repealed that with the small funds we had at hand it was impossible to make them see the danger and the result was that a very small percent of them went to the polls on election day, and our state dry law was repealed.

We knew that Montana was dry at heart. We knew that even though conditions were not very satisfactory our people would not think of nullifying the constitution of the republic. We had the question up again in 1928. We thought the presidential election would help us but we did not know at that time that Smith was going to be the Democratic nominee, and the national prohibition issue overshadowed our campaign, for the state law. Hoover carried Montana by over 30,000 majority, while the drys and the wets both failed to get anything like as large a vote as we got in 1926 when there was no great campaign on.

HOW WET IS WISCONSIN?

Rev. Warren G. Jones, D.D.

Superintendent, Wisconsin Anti-Saloon League

In comparison with the other states Wisconsin is generally rated by many as the wettest state in the Union. My judgment is that Wisconsin competes with New York for first place as the wettest state. The drys of Wisconsin are not anxious that we should rate in first place and are working for a new position.

Wisconsin was the 39th state to ratify the Eighteenth Amendment in 1919. We elected a dry legislature in 1920, under the leadership of R. P. Hutton. That legislature passed a dry act called the Severson Law, also an act creating the state prohibition department. Since the Legislature of 1921 we have held but one branch of the Legislature, in 1923 and 1925. The Legislature of 1927 passed an act to repeal the state dry law, which was vetoed by Governor Zimmerman. The Legislature of 1929 again passed an act repealing the state dry law and also the prohibition department, which was signed by Governor Kohler. This would indicate to the casual observer that Wisconsin had

been politically getting wetter since 1921. One of our United States Senators, Irving Lenroot, who was first elected in 1918, again in 1920, and whose term expired in 1927, was not only consistently dry but one of the strongest drys in the United States Senate. He was succeeded in 1927 by Senator Blaine, one of the most radical wets in the United States Senate today. This would also indicate that Wisconsin was getting wetter politically, but my belief is that Wisconsin is steadily getting drier not only in fact but politically. The reason for the apparent wetness is largely, I believe, on account of the depleted field forces of the Anti-Saloon League, during the last five years. The field force of the League is now being rapidly built up and the plan is to have a force comparable to 1920. The present field force is in hearty sympathy with our program which is entirely educational.

Wisconsin has eleven Congressmen, of whom five are dry. One of these drys, Merlin Hull, who was added to our Wisconsin delegation in the November election of 1928, has already made a large place for himself in Congress and our expectations are that another dry Congressman will be elected this fall. In the presidential election of 1928 President Hoover carried Wisconsin by nearly 100,000 majority. In that election the wet issue was played up more than all other issues put together and Alfred E. Smith was brought to Wisconsin on his speaking campaign and spoke only for the liquor interests and the place of power that a president would have in bringing back the old regime, yet President Hoover carried the state. This indicates to us that Wisconsin is a dry state by 100,000 majority when a million of our voters vote.

The referendum in the spring of 1929 brought out only a little better than 500,000 voters and the wet majority was 138,000, so we have concluded that Wisconsin is wet when 500,000 of our voters vote and dry when a million or more of our voters get to the polls. In this referendum the drys carried 31 of the 71 counties and came within a small number of votes of carrying 11 others, showing conclusively that if the League can give the proper leadership 50 of the counties of the state will vote dry, which would give us a dry majority in the State Assembly as well as the Senate.

The wets polled 27,000 fewer votes in 1929 than in 1926, and the drys polled 23,000 more in 1929 than in 1926, which cuts the wet lead 50,000 votes.

Since the repeal of our state dry law Wisconsin has become what is called by our Federal Prohibition Commissioner "a bootlegger's Mecca" which is probably true. This would also indicate to the casual observer that Wisconsin is getting wetter. The Federal Prohibition Department has redoubled its efforts and has more than doubled the number of raids and convictions. Many cities and villages have adopted the Volstead law as an ordinance and some of them are getting better enforcement than they had under the state dry act. Already there is apparent reaction not only from the drys but from some of the wets and the demand is steadily growing stronger for re-enactment of the state dry act.

REMARKS

Rev. C. M. Ledbetter, D.D., of Cordele, Ga.

Some years ago, when Savannah, Georgia, was as wet as New York, they had gotten accidentally a mayor who was executing the law. The Georgia legislature met and attempted to legislate that mayor out of office by having a local representative and the state senator introduce a local measure to that effect, and no measure had been introduced as a local measure for forty years, without passing. I was constituted a committee to go down and see about it.

The thought came to me, "They shan't pass that law!" I jumped on the train and went down and saw the right people and we defeated them.

When I was president of one of our church schools in Georgia I had to go out in the country and had no horse or mule, and I borrowed an old 16-year-old mule. How many of you here were raised on a farm? Then you will understand about old Kit. She was one of those old mules whose feet never moved any faster than her ears flopped. I tried to get that mule to trot. I whipped her—she turned her head around, the ears still going, and the feet keeping time. I wore myself out and the switch too, and then a little boy along the road says "Mister, I kin make that mule trot." I said "Crawl in then and get to business." He got him a little switch and got down on his knees and kept on hitting in the same place. She paid no attention to it, but he kept on. The old mule turned her head around, then she began to wiggle her ears. The boy kept on—slap, slap, slap, in the same spot. Finally the old mule put her ears up and went down that road with a trot that would surprise you.

For the first time in the history of America, when Mr. Hoover made his address to that newspaper crowd in New York last May he put law obedience instead of enforcement. I know where he got the idea. He appointed his commission and changed the name to Commission on Law Obedience, or Observance, and Law Enforcement. Now, men, we have been putting the emphasis on the wrong place. For the next two years let the Anti-Saloon League and the temperance workers of this nation major on obedience to law. There are 500 people to obey the law for every one to enforce it. Let the preachers preach obedience to law and get school teachers to teach it in the school room, let the newspapers advocate it—they cannot fight back there—and for the next two years ring the changes on obedience to law, and we will drive the Republican donkey that headed the Democratic party last year back into the ranks. That cry of obedience, obedience, obedience, is what America needs today as it needs nothing else under God's heaven.

THE SOUTH AND PROHIBITION

Rev. E. C. Crawford, D.D.

Executive Secretary, Commission on Temperance and Social Service, M. E. Church, South

I have been recalling the early history of the temperance movement in the South; the great outstanding leaders of those early days who had a wonderful influence in stimulating the thought of the lines along the lines of temperance and temperance reform. I recall also that at that time there was an organization of the W. C. T. U. that went into the cities and organized this great movement there. I recall also that in those days the ladies would organize the children into temperance societies and teach them the principles of prohibition and temperance, pledging them to lives of abstinence, and these young people have grown up to be the mature people of today and the older people of today, and as such they have lived lives of sobriety and they have been the great workers in the prohibition movement of today. I have no time to tell you of the continued activity of this movement and of the great men that were developed, who carried on the work. I will advert to some one or two, among them Bishop Galloway, of Mississippi, and a wonderful controversy that he had with Jefferson Davis, then living in Mississippi, when he placed the suggestion before the people of that state that the principle of prohibition should be advocated. I remember also the days when the Anti-Saloon League came into that section of the country and then began the real movement of prohibition in the South.

Doctor George W. Young was one of the first of these men to come into my section of the country. Then there was Brooks Lawrence in Alabama, who led the movement from that day on until prohibition was brought to stay.

These movements that came in that part of the country spread all over the land. They seemed to spring up all of a sudden; at least they flourished all of a sudden. In the little town in Alabama where I was a pastor at the time, a gentleman from Georgia came there and told me of the gains in the legislature of Georgia and he predicted to me, to my great astonishment, that Georgia was on the wagon and going dry. I began to watch it and found that it was true. When the papers carried the astonishing news that Georgia had voted a dry law for the state and that it was now one of the dry states in the Union, that was an example and an inspiration to the South. My own state not long after that went dry and almost like a wildfire the movement spread until nearly every Southern state—certainly every old Confederate state of the South—had gone dry.

Now that was the situation until there came this later movement that had spread through the nation and that was the advocacy not only of prohibition in county and in state but also the advocacy for a national law and not only a national law but for a constitutional amendment that would put it in the constitution itself. I remember the other night—probably all of you heard it as I did, when Doctor Russell made the statement that when they met in Washington, D. C., for the amendment that they wished to introduce into the constitution, they went to the east steps of the capitol and there they presented this amendment to two men, one a Senator and the other a Representative, to be introduced in those separate bodies and pushed through to the final conclusion. I was struck with the fact that these men who met them at the east steps of the capitol were southern men—each of them was a southern man. One was Senator Morris Sheppard from Texas and the other was Representative Hobson from Alabama. They took the measure and one presented it to the Senate and the other presented it to the House of Representatives. You know possibly better than I the fact that this amendment in those bodies passed through various changes until finally it was voted on successfully and it was sent down into the various states for ratification. I want to call your attention to just one other fact and that is the first state where this amendment was presented to the legislature was Mississippi, one of the Southern states, the state where Bishop Galloway had laid down the principle of prohibition so thoroughly that the people had become indoctrinated. It was in the legislature of this state, when it was presented, the amendment was passed upon successfully and from that state went out to all the other states of the nation.

I do not mean to say the record that was established by these old southern states is anything so remarkable. It was the same record that was made in practically all the states of the east and in the north and in the west; but it is a fact that every one of these states in the south passed upon this amendment successfully when it came to them and they constitute their absolutely perfect proportion of the states of the union in passing successfully this great moral amendment.

I want to call your attention to another fact that is characteristic of these states, that is, in every one of these states, ever since this amendment became a law there has never been any hesitancy whatsoever in passing all the concurrent legislation necessary in order for it to become effective, not only in the courts of the United States but also in the state courts. In some of these

states the state laws are more effective, more stringent, than are the laws of the union itself.

I want to make this other statement with reference to the work done in that part of the country. There has never been, since the enactment of these laws, there has never been in that section of the country, any attempt whatsoever, not only any successful attempt but any attempt, in any one of those states, to repeal or in any way cripple this law that is the law of the nation.

The crisis in our section of the country was in 1928. There was a question in every mind as to what would happen in the South when it became a fact, not according to the platform of the party itself but according to the interpretation of a statement made by the leader of the party, that the Democratic party, of which the South was a part and had been universally a member through all the years since 1865, that this party was going to stand for the repeal of this law and for the nullification of it if repeal could not be had. What would be the attitude of the South? They met that issue fairly and aggressively. I know what the thought of the people was and it was that the South would renounce prohibition. I have had man after man ask me the question as to what we would do. What was the answer? Of the eleven Confederate states in the South, five or six of those states voted against the nominee of their party and they went over to the candidate of the other party and voted for Mr. Hoover! I want to call your attention to this significant fact, that while the vote in the South was practically a tie vote of those who voted for the candidates of the parties, I am equally clear about the reason and that is that at least 60 percent of those men who voted for the candidate of the Democratic party—60 percent of them were prohibitionists and are prohibitionists today; rather 75 percent; and when the issue comes to a vote squarely upon prohibition and liquor without any outside issue they will be found on the side of prohibition. There, in my judgment, is the situation in the South today. As to whether or not those who left the candidate or the party will leave forever or will return, depends on one or two things, maybe both; one is the sentiment of the leaders of the Smith people in the South, the other is the policy on prohibition of the prohibition people in the south, who did go to Mr. Hoover's campaign. But one thing is absolutely sure and that is this, that the South is absolutely dry and whatever may be the fortunes of the various parties of this country, when the final action is had, it will still be in the prohibition column.

SATURDAY EVENING SESSION—THE BANQUET

THE PROGENY OF PLYMOUTH ROCK

Rev. Chester B. Emerson, D.D.

Pastor North Woodward Congregational Church, Detroit

I happen to have been born and brought up in New England, and in those hills where all my forefathers lived for a good many years, we have been imbued with the history of the Pilgrim Fathers and the story of the early beginnings of our country. And there are certain qualities about those early fathers that I think we need to remember. We honor them as the builders of our commonwealth—the men who laid the foundations to which we would be true; the men who had courage enough to leave their "low-vaulted past" and go forward dreaming of a great future which they found they had to build in dire difficulties with their own hands; and their courage and their idealism, their hardihood under difficulties, are things we love to remember. Their vir-

tues we praise in history and urge the young men and women of today to emulate them.

Suppose we ask ourselves just for a moment what it was that they did. It is simple enough to remember that the virtues of the pioneer are always individualistic virtues, and individualistic virtues are always necessary in any primitive state. You need men who can be more or less a law unto themselves and you need men who are quite sufficient unto themselves, if they are to master a wilderness, make a settlement and build a commonwealth.

I remember as a boy on the hills of New Hampshire, I was always fascinated by what was called my Uncle Calvin's coopershop; but there, by the side of the road it was, until 1896, I am told, when the railroad went through; and those forebears, that progeny of Plymouth Rock of those days, used to be housed in through the winter, waiting for spring to come so they could take the things they had made in their coopershops down to that town and exchange them for the first few things they needed, that they could not raise on the farm. That shop had been there since the time of the Revolution. I have stood and looked at the name of one of my great-great-grandfathers who was a Colonel in that great war, and knew that he lived in this little house by the coopershop. In that place was everything that a small boy could be fascinated by.

I used to be charmed by the stories of my old great-uncle who was around 80 telling me this history and how they used to do things, how my grandmother used to card the wool and spin and weave the cloth, make the clothes, raise the children, help in the garden, and when she had any spare time go out and pick herbs to make medicine. Now there seems to be a different attitude toward life. They could make their own clothes, shoe their own horses, build their own houses, do a thousand different things. Theirs were the virtues of pioneers who could do, and were more or less laws unto themselves because they stood for themselves. Now that individualism is at the basis of the character of our country and it is a very great part of true American history. As a matter of fact, among all the nations of the earth it is our individualism, in and through our history, that has distinguished us.

But right there lies our greatest present danger. We have mastered a continent but we have not gone beyond the virtues of individualism. It is our danger because today we have not learned teamwork. We don't know how to work together. I doubt if there is any so-called western civilized nation that has less teamwork and more individualism than we do. We need to learn more and more how to be cooperators. The social life of a whole nation is more compact and difficult than individual life. A good citizen is not simply a good man. He may be the best man, but he is a good citizen only if he knows how to overcome himself, how to deny himself, for the larger life of the country. A man who has a sense of civic responsibility and conscience must even lose himself in his willingness to promote the common welfare; in the responsibility for his community he takes upon himself not simply its virtues but its faults, with an effort by every means within his power to cure those faults.

The kind of spirit I mean in a good citizen is probably nowhere more beautifully described than in the story of Eustace St. Pierre, in the Middle Ages, a citizen of the old town of Poictiers. King Edward was besieging that city and the citizens were hard put to it to defend themselves for the food was running low. Finally the king sent word to the citizens that he would spare the people providing six of the leading men of that city would come forth as hostages for the people. And St. Pierre, who was the leading citizen of the town, rose as the first to volunteer, and in his shirt, with a halter around his

neck, expecting to be hung, he went forth saying he could expect no greater honor at the hands of his lord than that he might be recalled as one who would be willing to give his life that the people of his city might be saved. That is the highest kind of example of what I mean by good citizenship and that is the kind of example that we all of us need today.

Another thing we need to remember also about those pioneer fathers was this, with all their handicaps, their aim is very distinctly shown in three great things; their passion for a free church first of all, then for a free school, and in the third place for a free state. They nevertheless did register their social responsibility by means of the town meeting. They gathered together for town meeting, considering the needs of their community, voted and administered. They believed in freedom but they were free only as they worked together for their entire community and for their common advancement. In other words, they were free only as they were committed to the common welfare of the community. Now democratic government, if there is or is to continue to be any such thing, rests upon the three things that these pioneer fathers discovered and revealed—initiative and cooperation in passing proper laws, and proper obedience on the part of the people to those laws, once fashioned.

We are constantly making a fetish of personal liberty. What is it? Who has it? Nobody here has it. The first great incident in human life was the birth of the first man and the second great incident was the birth of the second man and so long as there are two individuals there is nothing like personal liberty. "I am going to live my life alone and I don't care who knows it, and I am not going to let anybody get in my way" said a young lady to me recently. "Well, young lady, maybe you will and maybe you won't," I answered.. Always there is another soul in the world that is just as strong as ours, and when two strong souls run up against each other there is not only sparks in the collision but somebody gets wrecked.

But all this talk about personal liberty! Liberty is a mystical word—it always has been and I suppose always will be, and it stirs our hearts, but sometimes that word liberty has created very great illusions. Sometimes it has led men into a morass as it is today when a lot of men are talking about personal liberty. "O, Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!" exclaimed Madame Roland on her way to the scaffold in the French Revolution. What crimes, and what blunders! The liberty they fought for was a liberty to fill their starving bodies with bread. They took the palace and cut off the king's head and a great many other heads as well, to find as a result, that there was less bread than there was before. That is the lesson in history for those who are talking so much today about personal liberty and the gratification of it.

We do dream of our liberty, and we need to ask ourselves what it is. It means for us all the state in which, free from barbarism and destruction, we can reach our highest, do our best, and live our fullest, and our faith is that humanity will win to that liberty, and anything that stands in the way—any great social evil—that stands in the way of our reaching our highest and doing our best and living our fullest, will go by the board.

A word about two things they are always telling me. Some men are always saying, " You cannot stop drinking anyway and you cannot prohibit it." Well, I suppose you cannot. I suppose you cannot, in the strictest sense prohibit any evil, not in the strictest sense, any evil. When you remember that the logical application of that principle would destroy the functioning of all law and turn the country over to anarchy, it is there where I definitely quarrel with them. It is there where I want to make my contribution. The thing that I am concerned with is exactly that principle. Assaults and hold-ups and arson and murder—are you going to let them multiply because you

cannot absolutely prohibit them? We cannot safely license any evil, no matter what that evil is. We have to pass our laws against that evil, do our best to stop it from spreading, restrain it as far as we possibly can, and let it go at that. To license any evil, whatever that evil is, is a threat against the fundamental principles of society in these days of radicalism, and somebody must pay the price for that doctrine.

"People have always gotten drunk and they always will." I don't think that is true to the facts. This is a social evil, like a lot of other social evils, and one by one they pass. In the Middle Ages every city had its wall, high and strong, with huge gates, for protection. A city without walls was exposed to every danger. Now the walls have been broken down, and we go to Carcasonne merely to see what an ancient walled city was like, or we go to the Ring Strasse in Vienna and realize that that magnificient boulevard was built on the place of the leveled walls that once surrounded that city. We still have dueling, and people still resort to it occasionally, but the duel has long been exorcised from human society. The same thing is true of slavery. But there are still spots on the earth where they have slavery, and one by one they will be done away with. Drunkenness will go the same way, because drunkenness is a relic of barbarism and it is bound to go with every other barbaric institution.

So I come back to my point and simply say this, that the progeny of Plymouth Rock today is the progeny of their forefathers, the founders of the republic, and that we who are to continue the republic, if it is to be continued, must remember that we have to learn cooperation as well as the virtues of individualism and if we are going to be good citizens, to be alert as well as morally sufficient. If the corrupt element in any community is ever to be raised it is going to be by the service of the upper element and by no other process, and the thing that worries me more than anything else is this, that what would be called the corrupt element of the community is not concerned with raising the level of the community; it is simply concerned with temporary satisfaction to its stomach.

We are each other's keepers. I think one of the most foolish questions ever raised was, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Of course you are! We are our brothers' keepers when it comes to diffiiculties, when it comes to misfortunes. If there is an earthquake in California or a fire, which is the more euphonious name for it, it seems, everybody leaps to rescue because we are bound up together. If there is vice in the community we are all responsible. Just now everybody in Detroit is interested in the police department. We are all bound up together, high and low, rich and poor, wise and foolish, whatever the language we speak, we are all interested in the common security of our city. In the fight against lawlessness we are all together concerned, and so it is with this thing of prohibition. So the plea I make is that like our fathers we shall practice those individual virtues which have met such a justification in our history but also that we learn this cooperation in order that the common good may be served.

There is no finer illustration than a situation which occurred in the Middle Ages. There is a place in the city of Salisbury that I always go to every year, and I usually drive down through Devonshire. I go to the ancient city of Salisbury and to the ancient market place. There is a shop in that green square that I like to visit, but you will likely keep on and come out of the square, which was the old market square of the city in the Middle Ages. On the opposite side of the street is a little half-timbered house, that was the home of John Hall in the Middle Ages, and John Hall was the leading wool merchant of England in those days. They shipped the wool to the continent

as you know; there was considerable trade at that time and wool was the source of their riches. All kinds of corruption crept in and all kinds of violation of the secret understanding between the traders. Something needed to be done. John Hall as the leader of that great industry, went out in front of his door, fashioned a cross of wood, took the wool and wound the wool as a symbol of his trade about this cross and stuck it up there at his door for all the world to see and to understand that from that day forward John Hall would live and conduct his business under that cross. And so I plead today for all men and women who are intelligent citizens of this country, because this is the law of our land, to rise up as did that man of old in his trade, and say to every one else on earth, "I obey the law of my country and shall see to it that the laws of my country shall have no disrespect by anything that I may do."

ADDRESS

JUSTICE FLORENCE E. ALLEN
Of the Supreme Court of Ohio

As Doctor Emerson has eloquently said to you, the time came when the world could not support the burden of slavery and slavery was abolished. The time came when the world could not bear the burden of private warfare, and the duel and private warfare were abolished. The time came when the world could not endure the burden of the saloon and the burden of alcoholism, and the saloon system was abolished. That abolition was written into law. It became a part of the law of this land, and it was not a law different in theory from other laws which we enforce, other laws which have the backing of the community. The law against the use of narcotics, the law prohibiting the sale of narcotics, is a law of comparatively modern origin, historically speaking, a difficult law to enforce. However, we do not consider that law impossible to enforce because of its difficulties.

Down in my state recently the Supreme Court wrote a decision holding that the Department of Agriculture has the right to condemn and kill cattle infected with bovine tuberculosis. That is a law of recent origin, difficult to enforce, bringing in its train financial loss to many a farmer. We never say that that law is impossible of enforcement. And we could count up other laws, which every one connected with the courts knows to be hard to enforce—the law against counterfeiting is very difficult to enforce; the law against possession of burglary tools is very hard to enforce because burglary tools are the very tools which carpenters use legitimately, and when you try a man for possession of burglar's tools you have to prove his felonious intent to use these tools in violation of the law, in the commission of a burglary, and that intent is always difficult to prove; but we never say that those laws are impossible of enforcement because they are difficult. I have said, I presume, several hundred times, and I repeat here tonight, that the main difficulty which prohibition faced when it was enacted into law was that we had not through the country at large established real respect for law. Prohibition did not create disrespect for law; prohibition inherited disrespect for law. And one reason why prohibition inherited disrespect for law was because in this country we had undoubtedly slipped into an attitude of mind in which we considered the great business of politics to be a game. We were much like that woman who, when she saw a fight going on between her husband and a bear, called out, "Go it, husband! Go it, bear!" as the husband or the bear had the advantage. We had tolerantly slipped into the habit of thinking that the great business of government was the business of voting one side or the other into the possession of jobs and after the election we slipped negligently back into satisfaction according as our side had

secured the jobs; the result was that there had grown up in this country at the time that prohibition was enacted, a conception among certain office holders—I would not say all, by any means, but a widely increasing conception in official circles that there is a private property in public office, that the official holds his office among you not to enforce the law, not as trustee for the people, but for his own private personal possession, that the office is not simply his meal ticket, but that it is something for him to use for his friends, his clique, his "gang." When prohibition was enacted it inherited this situation, that we had slipped back to that old conception, a conception that the office belongs to the possessor and not to the people of the United States. And when I consider all of these elements corrupting the strength of the political life in this country, I wonder that prohibition has been enforced as much as it has been enforced.

Mr. Doran has told you of the great gain in results of the prohibition law, and I shall say nothing on that subject, because his figures speak for themselves. I as well as you call to mind countless instances of the gain to great masses of the people which has come with the abolition of the open saloon; but I would not wish to stand here and not frankly say to you some methods which I think you and I have to follow in order to secure enforcement of these laws. The problem of law enforcement in this country calls us not only to support the President but also to put forth individual effort. If we once concede the right of the individual to decide which law is law to him, the whole structure falls. One man selects the traffic ordinances to violate and runs through a red light; another man decides to violate the prohibition law and becomes a bootlegger; a third man does not enjoy the statutes against homicide and shoots his wife; and so we slide down the perilous course of nullification until our most cherished institutions are in peril.

I desire, however, to indicate practical steps which must be taken if not only the prohibition law, but law in general is to be adequately enforced in this country. The recommendations of the national commission on law enforcement, headed by former Attorney General Wickersham, for Congressional legislation, would greatly relieve the clogged condition of our dockets and hence advance the enforcement of law in a most practical way.

Over and above any mere procedural suggestions, however, there are two underlying prerequisites in any program of law enforcement. So long as we consider appointments which deal with the enforcement of law to be political plums we shall not secure the highest type of service.

There are, of course, countless men and women of great integrity and competence appointed to political office. The gap comes with appointments which are made as a matter of political reward, without reference to peculiar personal fitness. It is due to this fact that some embarrassing situations have arisen with reference to high-handed and ill-considered action on the part of enforcement officers.

Moreover, the people as a whole have to realize and make it an article of their faith that the purpose of government is not merely giving of jobs to this or that set of men. When we once believe, and act upon the belief, that the purpose of the government is the enforcement of law, the protection of property and life, and the maintenance of individual and community rights, then we shall not be satisfied to fold our hands after our particular side has won an election. We shall demand, day in and day out, between elections, that the men and women whom we have elected to office shall carry out the purpose of government, and then, and not until then, shall we have the fullest enforcement of law.

Moreover, our task is not limited by any means to the enforcement of prohibition. It embraces all substantive law. There is no solution to the problem of law enforcement except that of a militant campaign all along the line for the enforcement of law in general.

To demand that the prohibition law be drastically enforced and at the same time ignore evasion of the tax laws, defalcation by public officials, graft in high places and the personal corruption which proceeds from the conception that there is one standard of ethics for public life and another standard of ethics for individual life—in other words, that "anything is all right in public life if you can get away with it," is fatal to all law enforcement.

Historically speaking, the rise of this amendment has been one of the astonishing things in the life of our own times. We could not expect that the great vested interests which centered around the saloon would allow their citadel to be taken without a battle. Intelligent, devoted, fundamental effort all along the line will secure enforcement of this law, and those of us who believe that the serious business of human living is the development of the individual to his tallest spiritual stature will not be content to cease our efforts—will not be content to consider that the thing cannot be done. For after all, "those who wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings as eagles, they shall run and not be weary, they shall walk and not faint."

ADDRESS

Hon. John W. Summers, M. C., Walla Walla, Wash.

The House and Senate operate under entirely different rules of procedure. Our time is limited in the House. When we rise to speak it is for so many minutes. When a Senator rises, he speaks as long as he is able to stand up. I am not a Senator.

You have been seeing a good deal in the papers the last few days from some of the House members. I am going to tell you a little bit about how wet and how dry we are in Washington so far as my observation goes. These speeches that you see on the front page of your papers, I dare say, would not occur except that they are to go on the front pages of those papers. I said to one of these wet speakers only three or four days ago, whom I knew to be a very substantial member of Congress other than this tendency, "I cannot understand you." He said, "If you came from New York you would. You know that I do much constructive work on the floor of the House. I get credit for nothing except my wet speeches in the papers of the state of New York. That is my only way of getting in touch with my home folks!" That is all right for New York, that is all right for Buffalo, but what I cannot understand is why the dry papers of your district and mine, all over the United States, misunderstand this wet Congressman from New York or Buffalo or some other big city and think that this news was meant for the whole country and publish it on the front page of our dry papers, all over the United States.

Of course the United States is 80 percent dry. If you do your duty it is going to remain so. The talk or the voting of a few wet Congressmen is not going to change the Eighteenth Amendment or weaken the Volstead Act. If we do anything, we are going to make it stronger.

I don't pretend to know what happens in night clubs and that sort of place. I am just an American citizen who leads a very busy life in Washington, trying to do my duty, going out whenever my business takes me, but I want to tell you this: I have not smelled liquor on the breath of one member of Congress in two years. Let me go a little farther. I travel across the city of Washing-

ton every morning and every evening on the crowded street cars, and I cannot recall having smelled liquor on the breath of any one on those street cars in that city, crowded with a crowd that means from 75 to 100 on the car—standing room only. I have not smelled liquor on the breath of any one on a street car in that length of time or even a very considerable length of time and I have not seen a drunken man on the streets of Washington for five years.

I made a twelve-thousand-mile trip recently—an official party started out a few months ago to visit the national forests and study our national forestry problems. There were four members of Congress in the party. We visited 22 states, we travelled about 12,000 miles, we visited our national forests, 13 of them; ten national parks; we visited cities, we travelled by automobile and by stage and by train and by boat. We travelled through Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, California, Utah, and Alaska. We were entertained at banquets almost daily; there were large crowds. They all knew that we were members of the Congressional party. You might think that they would be disposed to try to court favor in every way they thought was possible. They knew nothing of our habits. We were entertained at luncheons, in log cabins and in mining camps and in big towns and little towns and every place that you could think of. For fifty days we travelled over these 22 states and up to Alaska and with a new crowd of people every day as they hurried us along in their automobiles, a half a day with this man, a half a day with another man, and so it went for 50 days, over these 22 states and Alaska, about 12,000 miles, and the party was never offered liquor and never saw liquor except in one private home and a cocktail offered before one banquet, all of which was refused by every member of our official party. Now you could not have walked two blocks down the main street of my home city, a few years ago, without seeing more evidences of liquor than we saw on that trip. I will say that except for that one possible occasion where a cocktail was served to some who cared to take it, we had no opportunity to smell liquor on the breath of any one on all that trip, and my experience was no different to that of the other three members of Congress because I asked each of them and asked them on several different occasions.

Maybe prohibition does not prohibit, but we are doing pretty well. But the job is not done. When I talk to the Ministerial Associations out in my state I tell them to get after the preachers that have lain down on the job—that never preach a prohibition sermon. Don't forget that is the way of educating the people. I look upon this as something that needs to be done as much as anything else that the preachers rise to speak against, and can you think of anything else that we never refer to for twelve months?

Educate the young people, that was the address of the young man. I am more than pleased to see this fine crowd of young people that we have here tonight. I am pleased that they have a few yell leaders among them. We don't want to let the wets do all the yelling. Carry his message out to your schools, your colleges, don't let your ministers forget that here is a crowd that can do the work, that are going out into the shops, the stores, the factories, and will have an opportunity of talking to thousands, yes, hundreds of thousands of workmen who do not go to church. We want to be armed with the facts, ready to understand this thing whenever it comes along. You continue to elect dry officers from your district whether they go to Washington or your local enforcement men, continue to educate the people and especially the young people, and this country is going to work out this great problem.

We are making wonderful progress, greater progress than we made with slavery for the first ten years. We have done that thing which we ourselves

did not expect twenty years ago could be done, within our lifetime, that the nations did not think could ever come to pass in America, and we are having to fight the nations of the earth, the liquor and wine interests of the old country, but we can do it. We have licked them in the past. We can stand together and fight, for we are on the winning side.

ADDRESS

WILLIAM E. ("PUSSYFOOT") JOHNSON, Westerville, Ohio

In my recent years, while age pursues me more or less hotly, I have busied myself in exploring the avenues of wrong doing, becoming somewhat proficient in some forms of rascality. I have probed deeply into various forms of depravity, beginning with the assasination of Abel and the drunkenness of Noah, all the way down to the activities of the Association Against Prohibition, the modern form of acute pollution.

I am driven to the conclusion that there is only one sin in the world: that is stupidity. All the long catalogue of shortcomings set forth in the penal code and the shorter catechism are merely manifestations of the original sin, stupidity.

You remember the story of the seven blind men who set out to see an elephant. Now, the tusks of the elephant are a part of the elephant, the tail is another part, the ears another and the big feet are another. But they are all manifestations of the elephant itself. Just so murder, stealing, lying, and ballot box stuffing are merely forms of stupidity.

It was stupid for Cain to kill Abel. It was stupid for Noah to get soused. It was stupid for Al Smith to attempt to rise to the presidency as the representative of the ambitions of the underworld.

Four thousand years ago, Hammurabi, King of Babylon, attempted to regulate the drink business. He attempted to enact a law that would get rid of the evils of drink without getting rid of the stuff that caused those evils. Since that time, alleged wise men have sought to enact some system or develop some scheme that would get rid of the drink troubles in the same manner. Hammuarabi failed in this fool idea forty-two centuries ago, and every attempt to regulate the drink traffic in all the history of the world has also failed. America came to the conclusion that four thousand years of a failure was quite long enough. America came to the conclusion that the time had come to try something else. It was then that she inaugurated the policy of getting rid of the evils of the drink by getting rid of the stuff that causes those troubles—a very rational idea. That is the whole purpose of the Eighteenth Amendment expressed in a very few words. Common sanity was thus born into the world in the public attitude toward the drink problem. It required four thousand years of floundering about in schemes of regulation to reveal the fact that the only way to stop an evil was to stop it—not protect and authorize it.

The world attempted to regulate piracy on the high seas for four thousand years. That was another form of stupidity. It didn't work and finally the prohibition idea came along and piracy was eliminated. If it were not for our laws prohibiting piracy, we would have the black flag all over the high seas today.

For four thousand years, the world sought to remove the evils of human slavery by authorizing, legalizing and regulating slavery, justifying it in the name of human liberty. It required four thousand years of bitter experience to convince the people that this foolishness would not work and human slavery was wiped from the face of the earth. Prohibition did the trick and nothing

else. Were it not for the protection of prohibition laws, human slavery would exist all over the world today.

Public gambling, duels in the name of honor, lotteries and the public brothels were all forms of the original sin of stupidity and all were disposed of by prohibition laws.

Regulating piracy in order to promote commerce, authorizing polygamy in the interest of family life, licensing public gambling in order to promote thrift, operating brothels in the name of chastity and licensing the liquor traffic for the pretended purpose of promoting sobriety are all forms of the great sin of stupidity. Such fool schemes don't work, never did and never will work. God made man to be a man and not a mouse. It was man that turned himself into a fool. God had nothing to do with it.

REMARKS

Doctor Ernest H. Cherrington

General Secretary, World League Against Alcoholism; Director, Department of Education, Publicity and Research, Anti-Saloon League of America

I sat here this evening and listened to the emphasis placed upon the effort in the past to do away with slavery and piracy and duelling, those other great social evils, and as I thought of the situation that we face today I said to myself that there is a law that runs through all the efforts to do away with these great social evils; that the first major step in the elimination of a great social evil is to deprive that evil of the sanction of law and the protection of government. When that thing is done that evil stands naked and alone. It must defend itself upon its own. It has no longer standing in the courts. It can no longer call to its support the officers of government and it can no longer hide behind the protecting folds of a great national flag.

That is precisely the thing that happened when the Eighteenth Amendment to the federal constitution was adopted in the United States. That did not solve the liquor problem, but it did deprive beverage alcohol and the beverage liquor traffic of the protection of law and the sanction of American government. I was reminded when the first speaker spoke this evening, going back to the days of Plymouth Rock, that for three hundred years in this country of ours, every possible kind of permission of the beverage liquor traffic as a government policy has been in vogue. There has been some form of regulation for three hundred years; the encouragement of beer and wine for more than 60 years; license for a half century; 35 years of government control under the old southern name of the dispensary; 40 years of local option; 15, 20, 30, 40, 50 years of state prohibition tried out, and in the case of one state, more than 70 years under state-wide prohibition; now, just ten years of national prohibition. In view of the record in the case, is it reasonable or is it unreasonable to assume that after the permission of the beverage alcohol traffic by these varying methods for three hundred years, national constitutional prohibition should at least be given a fair trial?

They tell us we have been making progress all these years, under all these different systems dealing with the beverage liquor traffic, but how and why was that progress made? Every bit of it has been due, under all these special systems that have been in vogue for three centuries, not to the permissive features in any of those systems but in all cases to the prohibition features of all of those systems. I challenge any wet leader or any wet anywhere to cite a single instance in three hundred years, of any degree of mitigation of the evils of the beverage liquor traffic due to the permissive features of any law or any system that has governed the liquor traffic in these three centuries. I challenge

that same man to name any degree of the lessening of the evils of the beverage liquor traffic that was not due directly, in every case, to the prohibitive features of that particular system that was in vogue; and that single fact was responsible more than any other for the Eighteenth Amendment to the federal constitution. We have come to realize after these trials, after these efforts along every line, that in reality only that policy can be successful, and until the enemies of prohibition can show one instance, at least, in which the evils of the beverage liquor traffic have been mitigated by some degree of permission of the traffic, the American people will not trade national prohibition for any degree of national sanction or national permission of any phase of the beverage liquor traffic; and that in this day, this new high power, high speed, mechanized, closely interlocking age in which we live, the American people are rapidly coming to understand that this thing we call beverage alcohol, with all its implications, after all, instead of belonging to this modern age in which we live, in reality belong to a slower and a lower civilization.

REMARKS

Rev. F. Scott McBride, D.D.

General Superintendent, Anti-Saloon League of America

I just want to say a word in closing, to tell you that we appreciate the cooperation that has been given to us by the city of Detroit, by the newspapers of the city. I don't know that we have ever, in any place, been treated better than we have by the press here, and we thank them for that help and cooperation. I do not know how any State League could take better care of the convention than has been done by our superintendent Mr. Holsaple and his splendid staff, which is so very efficient. I just want to say a word in addition to the splendid address, about how dry we are in Washington.

It is our efficiency manager of this convention who I think has contributed more towards the success of this convention in the line which he has outlined and the theme that he has followed through than any other one man in the United States of America; and this is his wise crack—we are getting so dry down at Washington that both the White House and the Capitol have caught fire within the last month.

A little while ago we started out to make that capital city dry, to make it an example to the people of the United Staes of America, and I am glad to say to you that in my judgment Washington today is 75 percent dryer than it was two years ago. We are making that a model city. It is not the same kind of a model that I heard about when I heard the story of a woman who was recently married and went about boasting that her husband was a model husband. One of her friends looked it up and found that "model" meant a small imitation of the real thing. . . That is not the kind of a model city that we are going to make out of Washington, but it is going to be a model city whose life blood, as the very heart of this nation, will permeate through the entire United States of America, helping to make dry every city and village of this great country of ours.

Down there the situation is getting better and better, the prohibition proposition is coming to a head. The congressmen and Senators are appreciating their obligations to this proposition, the officers are doing the same thing, and talking about it.

The wets think they are going to amend this proposition, but let me say to you that it will be the sorriest day that has ever happened in the United States for the wets. In the end the wets will find out that they are getting into the

situation that a gentleman recently said that a cerain opponent was getting himself into. He got his figures of speech mixed as we all do sometimes, and he said, "These fellows will just keep on cutting the wool off the chicken that laid the golden egg until they pump it dry." Everything that they are doing is contributing to a dryer United States of America. They want a vote on the repeal. Let them have it—we are ready for it, any time and any place.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

MOONSHINE WHISKY

SENATOR MORRIS SHEPPARD, of Texas

I shall address you this afternoon on the subject of moonshine whisky, a term I have selected as a general one for all forms of outlawed beverage alcohol. This term is suggested by the story of the teacher who offered a prize for the student who would be the first to frame a sentence with the word "diadem" in it. The pupil who won the prize submitted the following: "Those who drink moonshine whisky diadem sight quicker than those who don't." It would be difficult to find another sentence containing more truth and more truthful suggestions. Not only do those who drink moonshine whisky and other kinds of intoxicating liquor die quicker than those who don't, but they are a menace to others, to society, to civilization, to law and order and to their better selves. Alcohol as a beverage is a source of infinite injury to human beings. It imperils the human resources of our country. If we neglect our human resources the vast physical possessions of the nations, with all the applications of science and invention to their development, will go for naught. I know that we may boast of material assets surpassing those of the remainder of the globe, of an imperial area of mountain, forest, river, lake and plain—of fields and mines and factories with outputs exceeding those of any other realm —of railways, roadways, structures, wealth, mechanical facilities, on a scale never witnessed before. But above and beyond all these in true and lasting virtue are the men, the women and the children of this republic. I would rather save a single dollar for the permanent income of the labor that supports one American family and one American home than to captain the greatest monopoly of the time. I would rather lift the fear of a drunken husband from the soul of one American mother than to be the leader of the mightiest industrial combination that ever crushed a thousand smaller enterprises to upbuild itself. I would rather wipe a single tear from the cheek of a child than to own all the banks and railroads in America. In establishing and enforcing prohibition we accomplish all these things in an infinite degree. We preserve human values without which material values would be useless.

It was the conservation of human values that did more to write prohibition into the supreme law of the nation than any other thing. It is the conservation of human values that will cause us to wage unceasing war against moonshine whisky and the whole brood of illicit liquors, from whatever source, from our own land or from other lands, until the trumpetings of doom. The struggle with moonshine whisky is typical of the fight against beverage alcohol which began on an intensive basis when increased population, increased production, increased capital, increased chances for gain, made possible by the machine age united to bring about the manufacture of intoxicants to an extent that threatened to engulf our citivilization. As the battle raged from year to year with growing fury the forces of prohibition in 1919 captured one of the most important strongholds that had long sheltered the enemy, Constitution Hill. That stronghold we intend to hold forever. It matters not how often the cham-

pions of the liquor traffic may charge that position. It will never be surrendered. It matters not how many attempts may be made to scale that height, how many missiles, how much poison gas, may be fired at us from the headlines, columns and editorials of the wet press and the wet organizations, prohibition will hold Constitution Hill. Prohibition will continue to survive every whirlwind and to ride out every storm. Whenever the wets throw a new army into the field it will be whipped back into oblivion. Instead of an O. K. they will get a K. O., the pugilistic term for knockout. As each new wet commander steps forward he might well be reminded of the woman who married the man who had buried three wives. One day while strolling through the cemetery she found the monument which he had erected to all three. She noticed a number of inscriptions on the monument and going closer she began to read "Sacred to the memory of Mary Jones;" below that: "Sacred to the memory of Laura Jones;" below that: "Sacred to the memory of Martha Jones." And then she got a shock. The next words were, "Be ye also ready." The wets have been smashed so often that they are looking for some one or some organization to insure them against further reverses. They have about as much chance for that sort of relief as the colored woman who called upon an insurance agency and said: "I want some fire insurance for ma husband." "Fire insurance for your husband?" replied the agent in charge. "Surely you don't mean that." "Yes, suh," I wants some fire insurance for ma husband." "What do you mean by fire insurance for your husband?" "Well, suh, that husband o' mine has been fired nine times in the last six weeks and I don't want to take no mo' chances."

When we wrote prohibition into the federal constitution we demonstrated that the Constitution was made for man and not man for the Constitution. And that's scriptural doctrine. The wets thought that the Constitution was too sacred in itself for amendment in the interest of mere human beings. They remind me of the artificially hatched chicken I read of recently which addressed the incubator as "mother darling."

The source of all governing ordinances is the American people who created the American constitution and who can change it in accordance with their desire. And above the American people is Almighty God.

The dominating thought behind prohibition is that the ultimate authority for all righteous activity is a righteous God and that the most imperative duty resting on mankind is to bring all human documents, constitutions, laws and practices into harmony with his will. The founders of the Anti-Saloon League, a group which judged by the significance, the result and the possibilities of their undertaking may justly be regarded as one of the greatest in history, were animated by this thought, and by the desire to bring this world a little nearer to the Kingdom and the will of God. Their action was no exception to the rule that anything which brings this world closer to God's Kingdom is an interference with somebody. Every one of the ten commandments modifies personal action and restricts personal liberty. Every thief is against the activity of the government in personal transactions. Every bootlegger is against the intervention of government in private affairs.

But back to "Moonshine," "Moonshine" which will always be eclipsed by the sunshine of prohibition. The conservation of human values includes the supreme right of the human spirit to respond to the call of the divine. That right cannot be adequately exercised by a brain stupefied and a soul besotted with moonshine whisky and other alcoholic poisons. A nation that does not typify aspirations and ideals pointing toward God and His Kingdom condemns itself to dissolution. A nation with a citizenship debauched by drink cannot tie itself to the eternal and cannot be saved from savagery and decay

although its physical assets and material splendor may seem for the moment to challenge all the dreams of men. A nation is an aggregate of individuals. Not only are we individuals with lives apart but as citizens we are members of one another with our lives blended in one collective existence. Both as individuals and as a nation we are unfitted for proper relationship to the Creator by indulging in an intoxicant that destroys the higher sensibilities of the human organism, crushes the moral sense and confuses the true conception of God. Hear the authority for this assertion thundering from the tenth verse and the sixth chapter of first Corinthians: "Nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revellers, nor extortioners shall inherit the Kingdom of God." Both individuals and nations, which are groups of individuals, come within this declaration. The vast majority of those who drink inevitably reach the point where they are always in a more or less drunken state, with the fibres of normal existence undermined, with ideals that have fallen from the celestial to the bestial. A nation which tolerates and legalizes alcoholic liquor writes its own death warrant and ends its hopes and chance of repeating God's Kingdom in the world, of doing His will on earth as it is in Heaven. A nation which like the United States outlaws the liquor trade preserves its soul and establishes relationship with the Creator assuring a progress and a security that grows brighter and stronger in the rush of the years. For these reasons every church worthy of the name and function of a church is necessarily, actively and perpetually in the crusade against beverage alcohol.

Having risen from "moonshine" to Corinthians let us now descend from Corinthians to "moonshine" and its ghastly tribe.

The mission of moonshine does not end with destruction of the soul power of nations and individuals. It does not end with the wreck of moral impulses. It does not end with the perversion of intellect and will. It enfeebles the lines of communication between brain and muscle, weakens all the processes of nutrition, and reduces or destroys the physical strength and skill on which by far the great number of men and women, and therefore society itself, must depend for existence. It drags humanity down into inhumanity, to cruelty, viciousness, poverty, ignorance, disease and criminality. It changes an article which in commercial, non-drinkable form is of tremendous benefit into a beverage which works tremendous harm. By virtue of its influence women and children are beaten and starved and killed, sanity abandoned, ambition and self respect forgotten, and the man is merged into the beast. It annihilates every normal emotion, every tender sentiment and all the foundations of prosperity and progress. It is the chief scourge of the human race, the principal enemy of our civilization. To say that it should not be forbidden by law and fought by every weapon at our disposal is to surrender right to wrong, order to anarchy and heaven to hell. We will persist in the struggle until John Barleycorn resembles the inventor who devised an explosive. At the boarding house where the inventor had been accustomed to stop a man engaged board and room. The landlady gave him the room which the inventor had formerly occupied. "An inventor used to have this room," said the landlady to the new boarder. 'He invented an awful explosive." "I suppose them spots on the ceiling are some of the explosive," said the guest. "No," she replied, "Them spots is the inventor."

Here let us take occasion to inquire as to who it is that enables moonshine whisky and other alcoholic liquids to continue in use to the extent they do despite the Constitution and the law. It is the buyer of intoxicating liquor. Without the buyer moonshine whisky and all its crew would be reduced to such small proportions that the enforcement problem would be almost solved. The whole sinister circle of gangsters, gunmen, rum runners, rum ringsters,

bootleggers, hi-jackers, smugglers, corruptionists revolves around the purchaser. The money of the purchaser creates and inspires them all. They are all at work for him and his money.

In a novel entitled "Hooch" a policeman says correctly to a purchaser of booze named Carter: "The crux of the situation is right in that bottle you hold in your hand, Carter. There'd be no bribery, there'd be no corruption, there'd be no murders, if fellows like you bought no whisky.. I don't want to moralize. But the only thing these men fight over and steal about is the money you pay for whisky. It's your dollar that bribes and murders. You stop paying it and they'll stop fighting. You stop buying liquor and they'll stop bribing and taking bribes. Anyway you look at it, Carter, that's the one source of all these rum killings. To save my soul I can't see where these bribed officials are any more criminal than you are. And when I say you, Carter, I mean every man in America that buys a bottle of booze." That policeman stated facts which cannot be avoided or denied. We can never get away from the proposition that if it is wrong to sell intoxicating liquor it is wrong to buy it. Without a purchase there can be no sale.

Effective as prohibition enforcement is, and too much cannot be said in praise of by far the larger number of the enforcement officials in the United States, it will be still more effective when the buyer of prohibited liquor is given the same punishment as is visited upon the seller, when we recognize the equal guilt and the common shame of both parties to the sale of an illicit drugs that leaves such evils in its trail. At present the seller goes to jail and the purchaser goes free. Too often buyers are persons of business position and social standing, using the exemption accorded them by the law as an excuse for its moral infraction. It is true that in punishing possession we get the purchaser by one foot. If there is anyone we need to get by both feet, however, it is the individual of high station who flaunts and defies the law. You can't do much with a fellow you are trying to hold by one foot as long as he has the other foot free. He can raise more disturbance with that loose foot than can be imagined. In fact he can use the foot you hold him by as a fulcrum or base and with the other outkick the wildest mule in captivity. We need to make but few examples of the highbrows who think they are above the law which governs humbler folks in order to smash the bottom out of the bootleg market and reduce the illegal liquor traffic to the disappearing point.

It will be instructive to observe at this point that dissipation, extravagance, corruption, disregard for law both human and divine on the part of the wealthy, the powerful and the well-to-do have been responsible for more disasters and upheavals in human history than any other single cause. There is consolation in the fact, however, that the leaders of the future will not be found among the young men and women of today who frequent night clubs, road houses, speakeasies and participate in liquorized social entertainments. They will come from the ranks of serious-minded study, the ranks whence come the student delegates to this convention, chosen among thousands of their classmates in high school and college, winners in a competitive analysis of prohibition and the constitution. They will come from the groups of self-sustaining toil, as Ford, Woolworth, Carnegie, Rockefeller and Edison came from the young workers of a former generation. Similar leaders for the United States of tomorrow will be produced in far larger numbers by reason of the better earning conditions and better educational facilities the thrift induced by prohibition has made possible for the youth of today. There is further comfort in the fact that the social revellers, the hip-pocket element, the revilers of the constitution and the defilers of the flag are but an insignificant proportion of the 120 millions of the American people, the great body of whom, sober,

earnest, frugal, efficient, observant of all law, form the basis of the mightiest and richest nation on the globe—prohibition America.

Prohibition is worthy to live for and to die for. Its object is to sweep from the path of every life an influence that debauches and degrades it. The obligation to protect and guard all human life by every agency at our command cannot be questioned because we are told that as we fail to do it unto the least of these so fail we to do it unto Him. Clearly the loftiest standard of conduct is the accomplishment on earth of the will and purpose of the Creator. Assuredly nothing could better serve that will and purpose than to improve the condition of human beings, God's culminating handiwork. And what more genuinely promotes the vital interests of us all, the welfare of the church, the home, the family, the mother and the child, than war to extermination against an evil that wastes the substance of society and lures the race to ruin. I like to think that services of love and benefit to mankind bring us so close to the divine that intimations of approval reach us at times from other realms.

Seated one day at the organ
I was weary and ill at ease,
And my fingers wandered idly
Over the noisy keys.

I know not what I was playing
Or what I was dreaming then
But I struck one chord of music
Like the sound of a great Amen.

I have sought but I seek it vainly
That one lost chord divine
Which came from the soul of the organ
And entered into mine.

It may be that death's bright angel
Will speak in that chord again,
It may be that only in Heaven
I shall hear that grand Amen.

What we must do, my friends, in community, in state, in organization and in nation is to foster the happiness and well-being of all the children of God, that we may deserve to hear on mortal shores as well as shores immortal a grand Amen suggestive of approval on the part of Deity of our achievements for our fellow-men.

"PROHIBIT" STILL IN PROHIBITION

Rev. Merton S. Rice, D.D.
Pastor Metropolitan M. E. Church, Detroit

It is not without a profound sense of the significance of this closing moment of this great national convention, held as it is upon the tenth anniversary of the Eighteenth Amendment to our constitution—it is not without profoundest appreciation of the significance of this moment that I shall try to speak to you. I know just what the tension is here. I know the feeling in your souls. I would we had a better expression of it in our country than we have; I think the day is not far distant when we shall have.

Every great reform is at first accepted with an artificial satisfaction which attends the experience of every new thing. This experience with our great

Eighteenth Constitutional Amendment is now past and it reaches the stage where its genuine influence is beginning to take hold of our life. It is the effect of this thing that is expressing itself at the present. That's what's the matter with the country. We knew this was coming. We have arrived at a stage where some have now begun to see just what it means to have actually fastened upon them a condition which means ultimate and entire prohibition. They did not realize it at the beginning and they are becoming panic stricken.

I confess for myself to a genuine amusement as forces which have always been liquor influences are now assuming the role of reformers. I confess to an amusement that the newspapers do not wake up to the inconsistency of their continued publication of the same thing over and over again in the attitude and role of reformers. They are placing the wet brand of "temperance" for which they are shouting over against prohibition, and they are fighting in the name of reform, to purge the country of the evils of prohibition!

The forces for liquor are now out in their noble bearing and determination to drive prohibition out because it is flooding the land with liquor! Is it not strange? Is it not laughable? A man said to me this last week in another city. "Rice, I tell you I have no time for these fellows who vote dry and drink wet." "You are a new type in this country," I said, "That is the first time I have ever heard that." He thought he had struck a new thing. There is not a prohibition man on earth but has been saying that for years and years and years, and we have distinctly no time and no promises for that man. That is so old that we had forgotten it. Everybody knows we have no time for that man without our saying anything about it now.

Really, is it not a bit remarkable that the folks who helped this great reform in years gone by are the same folks who have always fought liquor, and that these new reformers who are coming out for "temperance" against prohibition, are the folks who always were on the liquor side of the situation? And these folks who are appealing for a hearing, any time, any place, anywhere, because there is so much liquor around that they cannot keep from drinking and they want to go back to the good old days, because of this good old liquor that they are trying to get back—these so-called reformers of reform are the same old crowd who fought us all the way along. We know them. We are used to them. They have blocked every step in the path of reform all their days.

The situation, I repeat, is really funny. I sometimes wonder if the wet forces imagine that no one has noticed the trick—if they think we have no sense. The liquor gang posing now as reformers to save our country from the flood of liquor thrown on it by the efforts of the dry forces—and the only ones who want a change in the law are the wet champions who say it is too wet! All that is so convincing—I really don't know how to answer such argument.

Some time ago in scanning over the columns of the Chicago "Tribune" I came upon a very fine arrangement of their form maker. Their headlines ran, "Prominent Clergymen, Senators, Slap Volstead Law," and then followed a choice bit from the Rev. Doctor James Empringham, famous "temperance" advocate, who was the chief speaker at a banquet, who was followed by Senator Edwards, that peerless leader of temperance reform from the stronghold of model temperance, New Jersey, and he was followed by another exponent of temperance who has ceased to be a Senator also. They made the same old speeches on personal liberty, self-control, etc., etc., exactly the same old thing as though we had never heard of it, and no one had ever thought of it. The interesting thing, however, was another article placed right by the side of the wet banquet report. It made a contrast which actually ruined the effect of the banquet as propaganda. It was a statement from a lady, who, if there is any

one on earth qualified to speak on the actual results of prohibition in America today, was qualified. Miss Evangeline Booth knows, and this is what she says: "Prohibition has lifted up a new element of drinkers who can afford to pay bootleg prices for immature or poisonous liquor, but that is a passing condition, that must soon disappear. I can even say that if the idle rich persist in making sport of the prohibition law, the day may come when the boulevard wastrels may have to be salvaged out of their palaces for secret drinking and haunts of vice, by the Salvation Army and other agencies for relief, just as the poor saloon victims used to be." Is not that cutting and straight to the point? The Salvation Army, rescuers for the idle rich, debauched by the bootleg liquor of our day! Is not that a thought to go to the heart of America?

The great danger we face is from the selfish determination of those who are blind to all save their own desires. That is what we face at this moment—selective anarchy. You are afraid of anarchy, of course—you are also afraid of selective anarchy. There is no word that will send a chill to the heart of American business so quickly as anarchy. Where is the man who can temporize with it? And selective anarchy is anarchy. This is not the first form of selective anarchy we have had in America. There was one that raised its head in Washington's day; and though this country was poor and young and inexpert as yet, nevertheless the full force of organization, through the administration, to preserve itself, was thrown directly into that situation, and the Whisky Rebellion fell.

There is no such thing as a safe compromise with that sort of treason. That was true then; it is true now; but you can never succeed by attempting to write a law down to such low terms as to make law enforcement easy. To write a law down so low that any kind of action will be safe, that is no way to enforce law.

The whole structure of law will be broken down if you afford an opportunity for selective anarchy. It is poor business to talk for whisky in this republic. This is a government of law, of faith in the principle of public order, and I want to say just as strongly as I can find words to say it, that the one greatest social control of this hour in this world is the control of the United States in its government. And the one point of greatest weakness and danger in the constitution, and need of that social control, is the concentrated test which is now being made on this selected spot, the place where the enemies of government believe they can now strike the fatal blow to constitutional government in the United States of America. Such was the argument I heard Raymond Robins make.

Now mark carefully just what our position is. We have arrived where, by cartoons and jokes and sneering references and misrepresentations, a whole section of the real law of our land has come to be looked upon by a good many people among us as a matter to be obeyed or disobeyed as they choose, and that they are well within their rights in doing this. Can you not see the serious liability of such a proposition as this? The whole future of society is endangered with it. You cannot have selection in any one principle yourself without also putting the same right in the mind and heart of every one else around you. You must follow the logic of your attitude. What we need in America today is not what the one-time Senator from New Jersey threw into our midst last week, speaking before a convention in our city, the threat of civil war, but the same treatment that the Rum Rebellion of 1797 got—suppression. This is no time for a great world-recognized nation to send out word to the world that it is unable to cope with bootleggers! I pity any American who for a single moment would agree to such an idea as that. If this republic has not the strength and if

we cannot enforce our laws, then we are in a sorry plight and we had better hang crepe on our flag. I have no words strong enough to express my abhorrence of such talk—no tolerance for those who would use their so-called personal liberty to destroy our constitution and our laws. Why? Because society has the first claim. The good of all is the concern of every man and woman, and before all comes the nation. It was no little thing when the great aroused conscience of this nation wrote with a mighty pen into the constitution of this United States of America the Eighteenth Amendment. Can you think, can it ever be possible, in this nation, that men and women can become so blinded by self-interest and so besotted by personal appetite that they will ever again take back into their national life, into the legal status of the nation, this baneful, wrecking, loathsome, obscene thing we drove out? I cannot believe it. I cannot believe it! I know one who will not.

A great moral crisis is upon us. A whole nation is in the test. The writhings of this great serpent that has been wounded with a deadly stroke are being redoubled in his last efforts to break the stranglehold. The morals of this nation are in a test. Gambling is finding new toleration among us. The literature that we buy is filled with offensive suggestions. The advertisements of some of our show houses are so depraved as to compel decent folks to turn their faces as they pass by. The dance hall and the moving picture are catering to the worst instincts. This nation is in a crisis.

Let me speak my position: I am for the Eighteenth Amendment. More than that, I was for it before it got here. More than that, I thanked God profoundly when it arrived, and I was there welcoming it when it came in. More than that, I propose to stand for it now that it has arrived, and more than that, I will be bold to say to you that if by any process or by every process that great amendment shall ever be stricken from the constitution of the United States of America while I live, I will enlist at once to bring it back. I do not believe they will ever be able to take it out.

I am calling now for a profound appreciation of this hour's crisis. Let not one of our people fail to stand. I do not believe America will fail in the greatest moral test she has ever been subjected to. We will not lose the victory that has been gained by so long and so hard and so unceasing a fight as this has been. We can never agree to surrender the advance that has been made through the thickest and hardest fighting of so many, many years.

"Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well-wisher to his posterity, swear by the blood of the Revolution never to violate in the least particular the laws of the country, and never to tolerate their violation by others. As the patriots of 1776 did to the support of the Declaration of Independence, so to the support of the Constitution and the laws let every American pledge his life, his property and his sacred honor. Let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his fathers, and to tear the charter of his own and his children's liberty. Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling books and almanacs; let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in the legislative halls and enforced in courts of justice. In short, let it become the political religion of the nation, and let the young and the old, the rich and the poor, the grave and gay of all sexes and tongues and colors and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars."

These are the words of Abraham Lincoln, America's greatest son. I would take my stand, in the presence of such words as these, in the great crisis which has come, and call to our greatest patriot, "We will not fail! America will stand firm! Justice will be done! Law, not liquor, shall rule America!"

CLOSING REMARKS

BISHOP THOMAS NICHOLSON

President, Anti-Saloon League of America

It would be most inappropriate for me at this hour to take any length of time. I will say only these three things: first, a word of congratulation to those who had to do with making this convention so large a success—Superintendent Holsaple, these hostesses of the W. C. T. U., the staff of the State League, have done splendid service. So many are there that I cannot mention them all, who have contributed to the success.

The second thought is, that I am in hearty sympathy with and support all the positions taken by Doctor Rice in his magnificent address and can assure him that he did not say anything distasteful to the Anti-Saloon League. We are for him.

The third thing I would say is that we wish anybody well—we try to use as soft words as we can in dealing with a great evil—but Doctor Rice has said exactly the right thing; there is a great moral struggle; we must take sides in it; we have come to the place where the man who keeps still, the man who submits, is not a man. You remember that wonderful story of Deborah in the fifth chapter of Judges; how in a great crisis in Israel the enemy approached and the story tells that this one came and that one came, and then in bitterness of soul, the angel cried "Curse ye Meroz—curse ye Meroz bitterly, for Meroz came not to the help of the Lord against the mighty."

This is a time to stand up and be counted in a great test and a great conflict. As I see it Doctor Rice said exactly the truth when he said in substance that this is the greatest moral test in the history of the nation. This is a time to speak out, and as long as I live and have my strength I propose to be counted, and I am taking my stand on the right side.

And now, may the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of His son, Jesus Christ our Lord; and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, be among you, and remain with you always. Amen.

STATE REPORTS

PROHIBITION IN CALIFORNIA

1920-1930

By Arthur H. Briggs, *State Superintendent.*

During the decade, 1920-1930, the California Anti-Saloon League has worked principally in the political field. Up to 1922 California had never registered a dry State majority. It was considered as one of the three hardest nuts in the Union for prohibition to crack. The organization of the State practically down to the last precinct threw California into the dry column in 1922. We have held it there by aggressive activity in the political field. We still feel that for the present at least our fundamental duty is to hold the State politically right side up. Other temperance organizations have cooperated loyally and effectively, particularly the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, which organization is an important factor in the educational work throughout the State.

The progress made in the growth of public sentiment favorable to prohibition is indicated by the fact that in 1922 California registered her first State-wide dry majority reversing practically 100,000 votes in a single election and changing the wet majority of 65,062 to a dry majority of 33,943. In the election of 1926 the dry majority rose to 63,617.

In 1922 California carried the Wright State Enforcement Law, which adopted the penal clauses of the Volstead Law. The peace officers of the State have been reasonably faithful in enforcing the Wright Law. There are counties in the State, like Santa Clara County, where the local forces are very effective. On the other hand there are some counties in the State where the local peace officers are known to be in collusion with the bootleggers.

Federal enforcement in California has been scandalously bad. Federal appointees have done politics with the law and enforcement positions have been held by those who themselves violated the law they were set to enforce. Under the Hoover administration, however, these evils are being cured and effective men are finding their way into enforcement positions.

During the decade we have gone regularly into the Protestant pulpits of the State, practically all of which are open to the League. We are now holding round tables for close contact with uninformed or misinformed groups. We have printed and circulated not less than 20,000,000 pieces of prohibition literature.

The present political situation is decidedly hopeful. We have a dry Governor, a dry Lieutenant-Governor and a Legislature which is over three to one dry in both Houses. Out of eleven Congressmen there are seven who will stand unequivocally for the enforcement of the prohibition law. In the United States Senate we have two men, one of whom is sulking, the other of whom is doing works meet for repentance.

The fighting is not over in California. But Mark Sullivan, the best newspaper prognostician in America, lists California as one of the dependably dry States. Our program is to create and organize public sentiment which will register in the election of the right kind of a Sheriff, District Attorney and Judge in every county in the State. These three officers are the key to law enforcement. Then, as fast and as far as we are able we are planning an educational campaign which will bring prohibition truth to the American boy, the honest wet, and the foreign-born citizen.

PROHIBITION IN GEORGIA SINCE THE ADOPTION OF THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT

Rev. Chas. O. Jones, D.D.

Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of Georgia

Immediately after Georgia was settled in 1733, the trustees of the colony prohibited the importation and manufacture of rum. Georgia was the first state to adopt local option, and the first to enact statutory prohibition.

State Prohibition Law

Georgia's legislative enactment against the liquor traffic became effective January 1, 1908—twelve years before the Eighteenth Amendment. The state law threw enforcement upon state officers. To their credit it may be said that most of them responded loyally. A joker was slipped into the state law allowing near-beer. Although licenses were very high, in one case $5,000, ex-saloon keepers and brewers met the price, expecting that monopoly would bring profit, or that they might repay themselves in the usual way by selling stronger liquors.

Repeated efforts were made to annul the near-beer provision. Although we always had a large majority in both houses of the legislature, it seemed impossible to get the bills before either house. Finally, in 1917, Governor Nat. A. Harris summoned a special session of the legislature to consider this question. The special session was bitterly opposed not only by the wets, but by business men who employed the usual arguments, that it would array citizens against each other, hurt trade, etc. The Governor was a prohibitionist from boyhood. He listened to the drys, waved aside opponents, said that high public opinion demanded it, and issued the call. Thus the question was forced out of pigeon-holes where the politicians thought they had neatly buried it, and the objectionable provisions were repealed in a day.

The state law is more drastic than the national. It forbids even the possession of intoxicants by private persons and drug stores, and alcoholic prescriptions by physicians. The citizens of Georgia accepted the prohibition statute as final, and obeyed it with few exceptions.

Hail to the Eighteenth Amendment

When the Eighteenth Amendment became effective, it was hailed as the greatest forward movement for law and morals in the history of the human race. Thanksgiving meetings were held and church bells rung as peans of victory. The saloon keepers, brewers and distillers were struck dumb, and felt that, unless they observed the law, the strong arm of the government would crush them. But soon they saw the tremendous profits in the illicit trade, and they deliberately determined to break the law both national and state. They were secretly and afterward openly encouraged by wet politicians and papers.

Unfortunately, our state officers who had felt responsibility to enforce state laws, did not understand or accept the word "concurrent" in the Eighteenth Amendment, and decided that responsibility was taken from them and placed on national officers. In this mental vagary they were encouraged by wet politicians and papers. This attitude created a lamentable laxity among sheriffs and policemen. This laxity opened insidious opportunities for official bribery, and many of our state officers winked at violations of state and national law by their bootlegging friends. Our leading dailies were on the wrong side, and their repeated editorials that the law was not enforced and was unenforceable had an evil effect on state officers. This was almost inevitable.

Many drys said that our state statute is preferable to the Eighteenth Amendment.

Improvement in Enforcement

I am glad to say that the situation is considerably improved. There is now in Georgia a very close concurrence in sentiment and service between state and Federal officers. We now have the fewest number of sheriffs who fail to cooperate to the utmost with our prohibition directors and agents. In the Northern district out of 50 counties only four sheriffs are cold toward working with national officers. While we have had, perhaps, more stills seized than in most of the states, even the wets admit that the law is better enforced, that moonshining is less profitable and safe, that liquor is harder to get, that arrest and conviction are much more certain, and that public opinion is more and more against alcoholic violations of law. Wet papers still issue their falsehoods, but their screaming is less believed and less effective than hitherto.

Attitude Towards The Anti-Saloon League

In the first six years of the decade, Georgia was well-covered with public meetings. William Jennings Bryan and Richmond Pearson Hobson made 20 or more addresses each, and other eminent speakers brought the subject to church audiences.

In later years it has been increasingly difficult to hold church meetings if the cards are to be passed for the usual offering. This is especially true of great churches in large cities. Most churches now have annual budgets, and these are adopted by congregations on the condition that no other collection shall be taken publicly for any purpose. Our speakers are allowed to bring the message but forbidden to ask an offering. This hamstrings us, as we are dependent on contributions and pledges made in public meetings. In most of the Southern states very little is secured by private solicitation. We have sought to remedy this condition by propaganda through the mails, by using the church press, by cards in the secular dailies, and by agents sent out to collect old and solicit new subscriptions.

Some of our subscribers and others solicited refuse to pay old or make new pledges on the ground that we worked against the Democratic nominee in the last presidential election. Over against this we get the favor of most and especially the unanimous commendation of our large ecclesiastical assemblies.

Public Opinion

What about public opinion in Georgia? As our officers were affected by throwing responsibility for enforcement on federal officers, so our citizens are affected by the feeling that we have the law, which cannot be taken from us, and consequently, it is up to the national government to enforce it. One of the Georgia subscribers wrote to cancel his pledge, saying: "I pay taxes to the government; why should I continue paying to the Anti-Saloon League?" A banker said: "Now, you have the law for which you have been fighting. Your work is done. We no longer need the Anti-Saloon League and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union."

Another reason for this apparent lessening of public opinion, so far as the Anti-Saloon League is concerned, comes from this fact: The South has been dry so long by statute, as in Georgia, or by constitution, as in Oklahoma, that we have no local contests. This means that in no Southern state will a decent politician announce as a candidate for even the smallest office, saying: "I am wet. Elect me to the Legislature or to Congress, and I will seek to destroy prohibition." A dog fight will stop traffic and gather a crowd in the

heart of a city. A contest between a dry and a wet in Georgia would bring prohibition sentiment to a red heat, and the votes would warm the ballot box.

The recent presidential election proves this. In every voting precinct men and women rose at the demand of conscience, and thousands who had neglected the right of suffrage because they thought no great principle was at stake, went to the polls, and, against their hereditary convictions, voted for a dry Republican against a wet Democrat. They believed that the good meat around Mr. Hoover's heart would, by the Help of the Lord although straining omnipotence a little, save them from acute indigestion in swallowing other parts of the Republican elephant.

Although, as thus explained, in a lethargic state, the prohibition sentiment of Georgia is as strong as ever. As intimated above, the recent Georgia Baptist Convention, and the two Methodist Conferences, representing over half our white population, and more than half of our wealth, social, industrial and educational influence, adopted ringing resolutions for the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act, and commended in the highest terms the Anti-Saloon League. The sentiment is in no sense comatose, but is not as aggressive as it should be unless occasion demands it. A bugle, sounding alarm as in the national election, will call the hosts of men and women to the ranks, armed with that most powerful weapon of Democracy—the ballot.

This lack of constant and imperative conflict in Georgia does not hurt prohibition. It does hurt the Anti-Saloon League in its income and influence.

ILLINOIS

By George B. Safford, *State Superintendent.*

Chronological History of Prohibition Battle in Illinois Since Adoption of Eighteenth Amendment

When National Prohibition became effective January 16, 1920, 55 Illinois counties were entirely dry. Forty-six counties were partly wet, only one county was all wet. Of the townships, 1,425 were dry (including 170 precincts in counties not under township organization) and 190 townships (including 24 precincts) were wet. Seventy-seven per cent of the population of the State, omitting the city of Chicago, resided in dry territory. Counting the city of Chicago as entirely wet, 47 per cent of the population of the State lived in dry territory, and 88 per cent of the area of the State was no-license territory. Eighty-two of the 102 county seats were dry. There were a total of 917 dry cities and villages, and 243 wet cities and villages.

The latest census, of saloons, December 6, 1917, showed that there were 9,893 saloons in the State. Nine thousand, seven hundred and seventy-seven were in cities and villages and 116 were outside of cities and villages. Six thousand, seven hundred and eighteen saloons were located in Cook County.

Illinois Ratifies Eighteenth Amendment

Seventeen Illinois Congressmen voted to submit the proposed Eighteenth Amendment to the States and only seven voted against it; thus Illinois furnished more than her share of the necessary two-thirds vote for submission. Eighteen of her representatives and both her United States Senators were dry.

In 1918 a vigorous campaign was waged to secure a Legislature that would ratify the Eighteenth Amendment. Dry workers were sent into all the counties of the State. Solid dry delegations for the House were nominated and elected

in fifteen senatorial districts. Those 45 dry votes overcame the wet majority of about 45 in Cook county, and enabled the drys to ratify, in the Senate Januray 8, 1919, the first day of the legislative session, after a two-thirds vote to suspend the rule, by a vote of 30 to 16; and on January 14, the third legislative day of the session, the first chance for a vote under the rules, the House finished the job by a vote of 84 for to 64 against it. As a result, Illinois was the first big State to ratify, taking such action as number State 26, two days before Nebraska, as number 36, completed the action on the 16th of January, 1920.

Campaign for and Enactment of Illinois Prohibition Act—1920-21

The principal campaign of the Anti-Saloon League in 1920-21 was for the enactment of a law to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment. Preceding the Primary Election of September 15, 1920, and General Election November 2, the Anti-Saloon League carried on a campaign for the nomination and election of legislature candidates favorable to prohibition enforcement.

A State prohibition enforcement bill to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment, harmonizing the State law with the Volstead Act, was passed by the Senate on May 19, 1921, by a vote of 30 to 12. It passed the House on June 8 by a vote of 81 to 62. The bill was signed by Governor Small on June 27 and became effective on July 1. It is known as the "Illinois Prohibition Act" and is one of the strongest of State enforcement codes. It has been held constitutional as a whole by the Supreme Court, and in all provisions, the validity of which have been attacked.

Beer and Wine Referendum—1922

In 1922 a petition was circulated by wet organizations and filed with the Secretary of State asking for a vote on the following question at the election on the seventh of November:

Shall the existing State and Federal prohibitory laws be modified so as to permit the manufacture, sale and transportation of beer (containing less than 4 per cent by volume of alcohol) and light wines and beer for home consumption?

The Anti-Saloon League together with other temperance organizations urged voters to disregard this referendum because even if successful it would be impossible under the Eighteenth Amendment, also it would have no legal effect on the Legislature. Instead the League urged all dry voters to concentrate their efforts upon the election of dry members of the Legislature and Congress. As a result the wets won the referendum but the drys held their ground in the Legislature and elected more dry Congressmen than ever before. Richard Yates, a Republican, running for Congress-at-Large on a prohibition platform, was elected by two hundred seventy-six thousand votes over Simon J. Gorman, Democrat, who ran on a beer and wine platform.

The Illinois Prohibition Act, passed in 1921, has been subject to violent attack in every succeeding session of the Legislature. In 1923-25-27 and 29 bills were introduced proposing to repeal this Act and also the Search and Seizure Law. If these bills had been passed they would have put the State of Illinois in opposition to the Eighteenth Amendment and paralyzed to a large extent the law enforcement activities of twenty thousand State peace officers not only in apprehending liquor law violators but all other criminals.

For this entire period the wets and drys have been almost at a deadlock on this measure. In 1923 it was put on the calendar of the House by a vote of 78 to 70. Each succeeding year it was passed by the House and defeated in the Senate. In 1929 it was passed in the House by a vote of 77 to 65, an exact constitutional majority. Had the drys who were unavoidably absent been present to participate in the vote, the score would have been 77 to 71, practically

identical with what it was in 1923. Each year this measure was defeated in the Senate by good majorities.

Primary and General Election of 1926

In the primary election held April 13, 1926, Col. Frank L. Smith was the regular Republican nominee for the United States Senate, and George Brennan, Democratic boss, an outstanding wet leader, was nominated by the wets as their candidate. Mr. Brennan carried on an intensive campaign throughout the State, making modification of the Volstead law the chief plank in his platform. Frank L. Smith, former member of Congress and dry, despite the attitude of the leaders of ihs party in Chicago and Cook county, came out with an unequivocal statement for the enforcement of the Volstead law and the maintenance of the Eighteenth Amendment. Although he had the united opposition of the big Chicago wet newspapers, Col. Smith defeated Mr. Brennan by approximately 71,363 votes, and this in spite of the fact that during the last five weeks of the campaign an independent dry Republican candidate for the United States Senate was put in the field in the person of Hugh McGill, a former State Senator. The wets took advantage of this situation and nothing was left undone by the political tricksters and the wet newspapers to split the dry vote between Smith and McGill in a desperate effort to elect Brennan.

In Brennan's defeat the lawless, nullification liquor forces of Illinois and the nation were dealt one of the hardest blows they have received since they began an organized nation-wide conspiracy, with their beer and wine program, to break down the laws of the various States and nullify the Constitution of the nation.

All of the nineteen dry Congressmen of Illinois were reelected, the two dry Congressmen-at-large, Rathbone and Yates, being reelected by great majorities over their wet opponents.

Second Wet Referendum—1926

Again in 1926 the wets succeeded in placing on the ballot at the general election a referendum as follows:

"Should the Congress of the United States modify the Federal act to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States so that the same shall not prohibit the manufacture, sale, transportation, importation, or exportation of beverages which are not in fact intoxicating, as determined in accordance with the laws of the respective states?"

The Anti-Saloon League, together with other leading temperance and civic organizations, pointed out that this was nothing more nor less than a trick referendum, devised by the wets to confuse and split up the drys and divert their attention from their main issue, viz.: the defeat of George Brennan for the United States Senate. Many good people found it difficult to follow the League's suggestions in the matter, believing that they should stand up and be counted, and if they did so, the drys might win.

However, the effect of the position taken by the League and the other reform forces was such that only approximately half as many dry votes were cast against the referendum as were cast in behalf of dry candidates. Roughly speaking there were about 500,000 who voted "No" on the wet referendum, whereas there were approximately 1,000,000 in support of dry candidates. The strategy of the League in this matter was such as to really compel the wets to fight their own record in 1922 instead of fighting the drys in 1926. They had to equal or beat the record made in 1922 or else face the charge of a big reaction 1922, the wet referendum received 552,000 votes in Cook county and in 1926, in against their policy.

In 1922 the wet referendum received 1,065,000 favorable votes in Illinois.

In 1926, four years after, in spite of the increase in population, the wets received 224,369 fewer votes. In Chicago the figures were impressive and inspiring. In spite of an increase of more than a quarter of a million in population, the wets received in the same area, 452,041 votes. In both years the wets did their utmost to get out their whole vote because it was their scheme and their politics to do so, and the results showed 100,000 fewer wet votes in Cook county in 1926 than in 1922. It is impossible to explain this on any ground except by admitting that there is a steady and powerful drift in public sentiment from the wet to the dry side.

General Election—1928

No State gained greater victories for the cause of prohibition and good government in the 1928 election than did Illinois. Chicago had been widely heralded as a notoriously misgoverned city. A combination of crime and politics, developed and strengthened through many years of corruption, seemed to have a stranglehold on the community. One of the most notorious wets in the State was a candidate for the United States Senate. Powerful political cross currents seemed to make it impossible to rally the dry forces to overcome the wet interests. But through heroic efforts on the part of good citizens and prohibition supporters the constituency of Cook county and the State was aroused to the seriousness of the situation. A greater number of voters registered than ever before in the county's history. In the city of Chicago alone the registration was approximately 1,400,000. The State Anti-Saloon League put special workers in numerous districts and co-operated energetically with all other agencies which were working to resist the wet attack. The results were most gratifying. Many districts in Chicago which have been notorious for ballot stuffing, were places of peace and safety for the voters. With one or two glaring exceptions there was practically no lawlessness and little corruption evident on election day. Almost the entire number of registered voters went to the polls. Hoover, the dry, carried Chicago by 21,000 majority, Cook county by 94,000, and the State of Illinois by 454,324. In the city of Chicago, the reform candidate for State's Attorney, John A. Swanson, won by 160,000 against the most powerful bi-partisan combination that could be formed. In the Legislature the drys made a gain of several members and retained control of the State Senate. Anton Cermak, the notorious wet candidate for United States Senator, was defeated by 278,693 votes. The State has two dry United States Senators, and 18 drys in the lower house of Congress out of a total of 25. The Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, and Attorney General, were supported by the prohibition forces and were elected by large majorities.

INDIANA

By C. H. Winders, *Acting Superintendent.*

I.

During the past ten years the Anti-Saloon League of Indiana has maintained an organization as follows:

1. Pulpit and Platform. Most of the time it has required two men in this department making the arrangements for all Sunday meetings and other meetings and assigning the speakers.

2. Publicity. In addition to the work done by the Pulpit and Platform Department, the State Superintendent has been editing "The American Issue" and writing literature in tract form and directing all publicity work.

3. Legal Department. This department keeps in close touch with the law enforcement work all over the State and with the judges and prosecuting attor-

neys and renders assistance whenever called upon. Frequently it sends out bulletins to officials giving the latest decisions.

4. Financial Department. Two men are at all times employed following up the Sunday subscriptions, securing renewals from those who did not subscribe, and hunting up new supporters to the League.

With this organization the League has been conducting a Sunday campaign in every county of the State once a year. We spoke in many of the churches in each county. Our men made many addresses in high schools each year. We sent "The American Issue" weekly to its subscribers until the last two years when it has been made bi-weekly. We have sent out millions of pages of temperance literature. We also have been using the moving pictures "Lest We Forget" and "The Transgressor" and they have been shown practically in every county of the State. The debate entitled "Can the Law Be Enforced?" has been used some two or three hundred times and recently we have started the trial entitled "Who Killed Earl Wright?"

In the political field the State superintendent has had control of the endorsement of candidates, and before the primary and the election each year has sent out large numbers of "The American Issue" containing the lists of candidates with the recommendations of the League. As a result of this activity Indiana has kept solid dry votes in the United States Senate and House of Representatives for almost fourteen years. Every session of the legislature since 1917 has contained a large dry majority.

In 1925 we secured the enactment of a codified and revised prohibition law, which we believe is as good as has been adopted in any other State in the Union. It is very practical and comprehensive.

The attorneys in the legal department have assisted prosecuting attorneys many times in their cases, securing convictions in practically all of them. They have briefed many cases for the Supreme Court, a large majority of which were affirmed. The department has assisted the United States District Attorneys in several cases, and prepared the 1925 codification law. The department has padlocked many houses and abated by restraining orders many other booze joints.

II.

The W. C. T. U. of Indiana is very thoroughly organized in almost every county of the State under efficient leadership and has been cooperating very effectively with the Anti-Saloon League, particularly in its political activities.

The Disciples of Christ have their temperance organization centered here at Indianapolis under Dr. A. W. Taylor. They have approximately 8,000 churches in the United States and Canada with a membership of a million and a half. Approximately 160,000 of these live in Indiana. Activities of the board center around temperance agitation, and education in the local church and Sunday school. The organization supplies temperance literature. A monthly magazine is published. This organization thru its activities and thru this monthly magazine serves to focus and to express the opinion of the Disciples of Christ with reference to prohibitionn on all occasions. Further plans of the board include the development of a strong program for the local church featuring law observance and enforcement and a more Christian attitude in racial, industrial, and interracial relations. Work is carried on by two secretaries, Alva W. Taylor and James M. Crane.

III.

That the public sentiment in Indiana has not waned is shown by the fact that in practically every contest between a wet and a dry for office the dry wins out. The man who runs on a wet platform secures very little following. How-

ever, at the present time there is a good deal of apathy among the dry people. Our Sunday audiences are not as large as we ought to expect and the illness and death of Dr. Shumaker has had a rather disquieting effect upon the minds of the people.

IV.

Indiana is divided into two districts judicially by the Federal government, having a district court for about thirty counties in the northern part of the State and another for the southern two-thirds. The prohibition department maintains two offices with a deputy administrator in each: one at South Bend and the other at Indianapolis. The force allotted to these districts is entirely inadequate but has been under efficient management. The two district attorneys are especially active supporting prohibition.

The State of Indiana does not maintain a prohibition enforcement officer, but the attorney-general of the State is given authority to help enforce the prohibition law and may supplant the prosecuting attorneys who are inefficient or negligent.

During the administration of Attorney-General U. S. Lesh from 1921 to 1925 he employed out of funds appropriated by the State two undercover men who did very effective work in the State. Attorney-General Gilliom, who followed him, seemed to be disinclined to help enforce the prohibition law and discharged the undercover men. For four years we had no assistance whatever from his office. The present Attorney-general, James M. Ogden, has again taken up these enforcement activities and is using his influence unstintedly to help enforce the law.

Most of our judges are dry in sentiment and are doing their best to help in enforcement. Our worst situation in the State is in the courts where we have the wettest sentiment. Some judges are very lenient and can not be relied upon to inflict the punishment that the bootlegger deserves. In our smaller cities the mayors and police officials are very generally doing their full duty as best they know. In our larger cities the mayors are inclined to let politics control and there is much less severity in the courts. Our sheriffs are generally inclined to do their full duty, but many of them do not know how to apprehend the liquor law violators and the fact they are so well acquainted in their counties handicaps them very much in this regard.

IOWA

By S. P. McNaught, *State Superintendent.*

Temperance Activities in the Past Ten Years and Their Results.

At no time during the history of the Anti-Saloon League of Iowa has it been more active and aggressive and accomplished greater results for the temperance cause than during the period from 1920 to 1930. During this time there have been employed by the Iowa League an army of more than 100 men and women who have represented the organization in the cooperating churches of the State. Five thousand seven hundred and fifty-two meetings have been held in Iowa churches and an estimate of 575,000 adults and 200,000 youngsters have been reached with a varied and far reaching educational program. The constituency of the Anti-Saloon League has been reached once each month and during part of the time, once a week by the Iowa edition of "The American Issue" which has given a vivid picture of the progress of the work and the problems at hand.

Two million five hundred thousand copies of "The American Issue" have gone into Iowa homes during the past ten years. This does not include hun-

dreds of tons of temperance literature that has been carefully and adroitly placed where it would serve the best purpose.

In addition to our regular Sunday meetings at which a report was given of national and State activities, the three motion pictures, "Lest We Forget," "Safeguarding the Nation," and "The Transgressor," have been shown in most every Iowa town with a population of five hundred or more.

The two-day intsitute has been put on in practically every county in the State. This institute consists of a regular Sunday morning church service with a special union program Sunday evening, conferences and high school programs Monday, followed by a mass meeting Monday night. At these institutes the dramatic debate, "Can the Law Be Enforced?" the murder trial, "Who Killed Earl Wright?" and "The Harvest" were presented. Temperance programs have been planned for high school work covering history, general science, English, dramatics, debating, and art work.

In addition to the programs used in churches we have given programs for women's clubs, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Y. W. C. A., Y. M. C. A., Chamber of Commerce, and civic clubs for both men and women.

During the past ten years, the Anti-Saloon League has furnished the newspapers of Iowa with temperance facts. At one time, the League placed in four daily papers in the State, a series of eight half-page adds telling of the benenfit of prohibition.

In each county in the State, the Iowa Anti-Saloon League has a keyman whose identity is not known in the community. The League depends on this keyman for its information as to liquor law violations, attitude of candidates, and any other information that is of value to the League work.

As the result of the continued educational activities in Iowa the time has come when it is not safe for a candidate to let it be known either by word or act that he is not in absolute sympathy with the prohibition laws. Before each election all candidates seeking legislative and law enforcement offices are carefully investigated and a report furnished our friends. As a result of this information a large per cent of sheriffs and county attorneys elected two years ago in Iowa were clean, upright, honest and efficient men who could be depended upon to enforce the law. During the past ten years we have eliminated from both houses of Congress, men who were in sympathy with the liquor forces and for six years have sent to Washington, only men who stand four square for prohibition and the enforcement of the prohibition laws.

A great deal of credit in helping bring this about should be given to organizations that put on special campaigns "to get out the vote" before each election.

The Federal enforcement work in Iowa was formerly under the direction of a Federal prohibition administrator who was reported to be not only opposed to prohibition, but was actively engaged in the liquor business before it was outlawed in Iowa. Iowa at this time has two Federal prohibition directors, one located in Des Moines and the other in Fort Dodge, who under the direction of Mr. E. C. Yellowley, of Chicago, have done some very effective law enforcement work.

The Iowa State Legislature has become increasingly dry each election until we have been able to secure practically all the dry legislation that is needed to adequately enforce the prohibition laws.

Perhaps the most far-reaching and effective program ever inaugurated by the League was instituted during the year 1929. The executive committee appointed a Quiz Book contest committee. Thousands of books entitled, "The Quiz Book—Fundamental Facts Concerning Alcohol and the Constitution," were placed in the hands of educators and high school students. In many counties in Iowa practically every high school student was drilled on the facts con-

tained in the Quiz Book. In some schools where there were a large number of foreign children the students were not only given permission, but were encouraged to take the Quiz Books home and drill other members of the family on the facts it contained.

The Anti-Saloon League during the winter of 1929 offered a prize to the high school student in the county who could pass the best examination on the facts contained in the Quiz Book. This prize consisted of a trip to the National Anti-Saloon League Convention at Detroit with all expenses paid. We feel that the high school students of Iowa will stand absolutely right on this issue when they know the facts.

The experience, inspiration, and education these high school winners will receive in their contact with temperance workers from all over the country while at the Detroit convention, should furnish to the State a splendid group of young temperance missionaries who will be prepared through the years not only to meet and defeat certain false propaganda, but who will be able, in a constructive way, to establish in the minds of others the truths which will lead them in straighter thinking on all prohibition questions.

KANSAS

By Joseph A. McClellan, *State Superintendent.*

First: The Anti-Saloon League of Kansas was organized in 1917. From 1920 to 1925 its activities consisted principally in law enforcement. The League raised special sums of money and endeavored to supplement the work of the State in the matter of law enforcement. This was due to the fact that National Prohibition brought about a new evil in Kansas in the form of the modern moonshiner and bootlegger. While much effective law enforcement work was done, this method of activity resulted disastrously for the League and we lost ground because we failed to carry forward a constructive program of Prohibition Education and Law Enforcement. For the past four years our program has consisted of mobilizing public sentiment in behalf of the law itself, and of co-operating with all of the agencies constituted by law for its enforcement. The people of Kansas believe that the prohibition law should be enforced, and are inclined to think that a prohibition organization is not doing anything unless it assists in some way in law enforcement. We are glad to report that this program of co-operation is getting splendid results.

Second: The only other temperance organization that is doing effective work in this State, outside of the church temperance societies, is the W. C. T. U. We co-operate with them in every way.

Third: Public sentiment in favor of prohibition was well established in Kansas when the Eighteenth Amendment went into effect on January 16, 1920. However, public sentiment in this State suffered a reaction the same as in other States. For the past three years there has been a growing public sentiment in favor of the law. There is not a newspaper in the State that could be classified as a distinctly wet paper. All of our churches and schools are in sympathy with the law with the exception of a limited group.

Fourth: The law enforcement agencies of Kansas have been active thruout the decade. However, this year 1929 has witnessed unusual activity upon the part of State and local officials, with splendid results. The Federal prohibition force is of the highest type and has co-operated in every way with local officials.

Fifth: This year our educational program consisted of the dramatic debate, "Can the Law Be Enforced," by O. G. Christgau, and the dramatic trial, "Who Killed Earl Wright," by George Hammond. We have reached thousands of young people as well as adults with this dual program. In addition,

thousands of tracts have been distributed and several thousand of the American Creeds.

Sixth: The political situation has not changed very materially in the ten years. Every State official is in sympathy with the law, with the possible exception of one. The members of Congress are all ardent drys. The last Legislature was overwhelmingly dry. I doubt if there were six members that were out of sympathy with the prohibition law.

Seventh: The success of the prohibition movement in the future depends upon the education of each rising geneartion as to the evil effects of intoxicating liquor upon the physical and moral life; the economic, social and moral value of prohibition; the practical value of the prohibition law as a method of restraining the lawless liquor traffic; and the necessity of safeguarding the law by keeping it in the hands of its friends. In other words, our future program must continue to be one of conservation.

LOUISIANA

By Leon W. Sloan, *State Superintendent*

I bring you my first report since becoming superintendent on June 1, 1929, vice Dr. O. L. Jones resigned.

Being a line of service entirely new, your State superintendent has had no little difficulty in learning the routine of office and field duties, but gradually the clouds of ignorance and uncertainty are lifting, and, as he sees more clearly the opportunities and privileges which are his, he feels constantly the need of Divine support in the great task to which he has been called.

At the May meeting of the Board of Trustees a Constitution was adopted seeking a closer affiliation with the various denominational groups and other prohibition and law enforcement groups, which will give the League a stronger moral and financial backing. Much of your State superintendent's time in the recent weeks has been occupied in bringing about this consummation. The response has been heartening, for one of the most serious difficulties facing our work in this State is the crass indifference of pastors and churches to the dangers which threaten our Constitution and Government. It is our opinion that this condition will soon dissolve and, in its place, will come a genuine concern and a militant spirit, which, when thoroughly aroused, will utterly route the spirit of lawlessness in some, and the rank anarchy in others.

The history of the prohibition struggle in Louisiana is an interesting story.

In 1888 the Legislature passed Act No. 40, which became effective October 1, 1890. This Act was known as "The Louisiana Temperance Educational Law," and provides: "For the study of scientific temperance, of the nature of alcoholic drinks, and of narcotics, and of their effect upon the human system, in connection with the several divisions of the subject of relative physiology and hygiene, by the public schools in Louisiana."

This law provides for such scientific temperance instruction in all the grades and high schools where physiology and hygiene are taught. It also makes it mandatory upon all teachers of these subjects to stand a satisfactory examination "in the study of the nature of alcoholic drinks and narcotics, and of their effect upon the human system" before a teacher's certificate is granted them. Under this law no teacher of these subjects is allowed to draw pay for services in the school room until he or she has signed a certificate that such scientific instruction has been given.

Laboring, for years, under the local option plan whereby a single ward or parish had the privilege of voting on the question of saloon domination, a steady

progress was made in favor of prohibition, so that, when the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted, 30 parishes, comprising 75 per cent of the territory and 40 per cent of the population had come under the no-license rule.

The Gay-Shattuck Law, passed in January, 1909, was a license regulation but prohibited the selling of liquors to whites and negroes in the same building. It also prohibited the running of a bar-room within 300 feet of either a church or school building, and also made it unlawful to "throw dice or to gamble" within a saloon.

In 1916 the Legislature passed the "Johnson Near Beer" bill which prohibited the sale of malt liquors within any dry territory.

When the question of the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment came up in the regular session of the Louisiana Legislature in May, 1918, the House of Representatives voted favorably, 70 to 44, but the Senate vote was a tie, 20 to 20, thus failing to pass for the lack of a single vote. The Governor, however, called a special session of the Legislature in August of the same year, and, on August 6, the Prohibition Amendment was ratified by a vote of 69 to 41 in the House, and a vote of 21 to 20 in the Senate. Louisiana thus became the fourteenth State to ratify the Eighteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution.

At an extraordinary session of the Legislature in 1921, the "Wood-Jordan" bill was passed, which authorizes the courts to exercise "concurrent" power in enforcing the Eighteenth Amendment.

The law known as the "Hood Act," which amended the State enforcement statute so as to bring the definition of "intoxicating liquors" into conformity with the Volstead Act, was passed early in the year 1924.

At every session of the Legislature the "wets" seek to modify or repeal the Hood Law. In 1928 such a bill was introduced in the House, but was defeated by a vote of 59 to 29. At the same session of the Legislature a resolution asking Congress to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment was defeated by a similarly decisive vote of 59 to 29.

In all these struggles for a saloonless State the Anti-Saloon League of Louisiana has had an active part by helping legislators to come into possession of all the facts as to the moral uplift such constructive legislation would bring about, and by informing the people through public meetings in churches, schools and halls; by lectures before high schools, clubs, and denominational gatherings; and, by the free use of literature bearing upon every possible phase of the alcohol question. The extent of this educational work is limited only by the financial support received. The State League has sought in every way possible to encourage citizens to obey the law themselves, and has consistently backed up the arresting and prosecuting officers, Parish, State, and Federal, in their enforcement program.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Mrs. W. N. Collins, Shreveport, President, has an active State organization, and many Parish organizations, all working to build a sentiment in favor of the State and National Government's program of law enforcement.

The National Woman's Democratic Law Enforcement League has State headquarters in Baton Rouge, and is doing valiant service in keeping a watch on possible adverse legislation at the Capital city, and in disseminating helpful information.

Public sentimennt in favor of law enforcement is growing in Louisiana, and many people who have always been in favor of prohibition, but who have allowed much of their enthusiasm to lapse, are beginning to awaken to the dangers which threaten, and are becoming more outspoken on behalf of prohibition.

There is a most gratifying tightening up of enforcement as to prohibition in

both the State and Federal departments. Sheriffs and municipal police are showing evidences of a keener interest in the prohibition laws, and are everywhere promising co-operation. The prohibition administrator's office for the Tenth District is located in New Orleans, and your State superintendent is glad to say that the administrator, the Hon. O. D. Jackson, with his agents, backed up as they are by the District Court, His Honor Judge Wayne G. Borah, and the prosecuting attorneys, are literally "throwing a scare" into the ranks of the moonshiners and bootleggers of New Orleans, and the Eastern District of Louisiana.

There has been no material change in the attitude of the men composing the State Legislature towards prohibition. The State officials are politically dry. There has been a new Congressman elected in the Third District. This is a wet district, and, according to reports, the new man is as "wet" as the most ardent wets could wish.

The outlook for prohibition in Louisiana is bright. The only thing which seems to threaten defeat is the indifference of so many of our people. They are, however, beginning to sense possible dangers ahead and are bestirring themselves. Our next most serious conflict will center around a possible effort of the "wets" to bring on a State-wide referendum on the State enforcement law, the "Hood Act." We are trying to anticipate them, if such is attempted and will not be found asleep.

With gratitude to God for what we have been able to do, and with faith to believe that He will lead us on to greater victories, our prayer is that the National League may have, in Detroit, its greatest meeting.

MARYLAND-DELAWARE

By Geo. W. Crabbe, *State Superintendent.*

The States of Maryland and Delaware are organized together and have been under the same supervision for many years. If every vote in the State of Delaware were purchaseable a United States Senator could still be elected with less money than is spent in many of the larger States. In face of this fact, coupled with a rather unsavory political history, Delaware is unusually free from political corruption. It now has a solid dry delegation in both the United States Senate and House of Representatives. It has a good State enforcement law and the law is generally well enforced. The League, under the supervision of Rev. E. C. Prettyman, continually keeps up the educational program along with the general work. Thousands of pages of literature are distributed, speakers of national reputation are used, the debate, "Can the Prohibition Law Be Enforced?" the moving picture, "Lest We Forget," and a program through the Sunday Schools and Young People's Societies is carried on. The State, though the home of Captain Stayton and Mr. Rascob, is influenced more by good morals than by wet money and political trickery. We are proud of the work done by the Christian churches under the leadership of Mr. Prettyman.

Maryland

Maryland was the sixth State to ratify the prohibition amendment. Shortly after that the present Governor was elected. The State has served him since. He came to the office after spending four years as Attorney-General. He went to Annapolis saturated with the wet sentiment of his wet associates of Baltimore City. He has succeeded in preventing the enactment of a law enforcement code. He seems to feel that he owes everything politically to the wet element and he acts accordingly. The sentiment of Maryland is not overwhelmingly wet. It is not wet at all. The Governor has succeeded in thwarting the will of the

people over and over again by using most unscrupulous powers that come to him through his high office. While on the public platform he talks against concentration of power, yet so far as Maryland is concerned, he has succeeded in making the power of Governor almost absolute. The only elective State-wide offices besides the Governor are the Comptroller, Attorney-General, Clerk of Court of Appeals and State Treasurer. The latter office is filled by the Legislature. The present Governor is the first one who appoints other officers without the advice or consent of the State Senate. Not only does the Governor appoint the State officers but he appoints the members of all the county school boards, every Justice of the Peace and every Notary Public. No man can sell any kind of property in Baltimore City at public auction without an auctioneer's appointment from the Governor. The Police Commissioner of the city of Baltimore is also appointed by the Governor. Indirectly, the Governor reaches every school teacher outside of Baltimore City. The job of every single patrolman in the city depends upon the will of the Governor. Not only does he have this centralized power but he has the distribution of millions of dollars of the State's money. Not a new road, a bridge, a public building can be constructed if the Governor is unfavorable to the proposal. Not a single appropriation for schools or public improvements of any kind but that comes through the Governor's hands. Just a few samples of how the people's money has been used to further the wet cause and ambition of the present Governor may be of interest.

The Governor does not barter away the people's money for votes but members of the Legislature know what is expected of them. The last time the law enforcement bill was voted on a member of the Legislature who had always been dry and who insisted that he would vote dry if there, left the chamber, failed to vote and gave as his reason that if he stayed in his seat and voted for the enforcement bill he would lose the new road that he was so much interested in. It has been openly stated on the public platform by a former member of the Legislature, that two million dollars of the people's money was taken for a certain public improvement confessedly not needed, two millions of dollars worth, by those who are familiar with the situation but done to get two State Senators to vote against a law enforcement bill. The people's money and appointive power of the Governor to the limit have been used to prevent the passage of a law enforcement code. Political trickery and not public opinion has caused Maryland to refuse to do her part as a State in upholding the law.

The last test of public sentiment in the State was in 1928 when Phillips Lee Goldsborough was elected United States Senator over the notorious wet Mr. Bruce. Both candidates belong to the same church. There could be no claim that the religious issue was involved. For years Mr. Bruce had planned his own campaign on his own platform. He thought his position was secure but Mr. Goldsborough, a dry, met the issue squarely and openly, and though he lost Baltimore City by 3,412, he carried the counties by 45,189. The counties of Maryland are overwhelmingly dry and contain 44,000 more registered voters than the city. We doubt if there are rural communities anywhere that can be depended upon so surely where a great moral issue is involved as can the rural communities of Maryland.

In Maryland Governor Ritchie's political star is rapidly declining. We predict 1930 will see the election of a man to the Governor's office who will not prostitute that high position in favor of the vicious element of the State. Maryland, as a State, is for orderly government and no one man or combination of men can forever frustrate the will of the people when aroused as they were in 1928 and certainly now are in Maryland.

The fact that Maryland does not have a State enforcement code does not

mean at all that there is no way under State law to reach a certain class of violators of the prohibition law.

Of the 23 counties, 19 had a kind of local option law while one other county had but one small town where saloons were allowed when the Eighteenth Amendment went into effect. It is true that many of the local option laws are obsolete and do not reach the manufacturer of liquor yet there is no part of the State but that has some law against selling liquor.

There is still a law in Maryland against selling without a license. This law is enforced except in Baltimore City, where Governor Ritchie has appointive power in the police department.

Generally speaking, Maryland is in better shape than some other places throughout the country. This is largely because of the kind of work that has been done by Federal officers. We have in Col. Amos W. W. Woodcock a district attorney of marked ability. He is not fanatical. He is not a crusader but knows his duty, plays no favorites, and looks after the government's interest at all times. He has a corps of able assistants who are in sympathy with the program of their chief. Every bootlegger knows that he stands before the district attorney's office without any chance of being helped by political pull or influential friends. The administrator has kept at the head of the two departments men who add credit to the department. The permissive end is looked after by Mr. William Pohler, a man who has been in the government service for years, and one who has both character and ability to properly organize the work. The enforcement end is in charge of Mr. Robert Ford, a high grade officer, who commands the respect of everybody who knows him. With the kind of service rendered Maryland by the Federal officers, prohibition could be made ideal if the State would only do her part. We are continuing the fight for a State-wide code and will keep it going until Maryland does take her stand in favor of assisting in enforcing the prohibition law.

MASSACHUSETTS

RALPH J. HAUGHTON

Assistant Superintendent, Massachusetts Anti-Saloon League

Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty and every good of man. Never was vigilance more necessary than today in order that good citizenship and constitutional government may be maintained in our beloved American Republic. Some time ago Mr. Roger Babson in a Special Letter made the following statement:

"We shall likely never live to see America attacked from without, but we may any day see our best institutions attacked from within."

In the State of Massachusetts, with our large foreign population, we can well understand the statement of Mr. Babson. The demands upon the Massachusetts Anti-Saloon League for moral and financial aid and strong, aggressive leadership are very great and very many. This year those demands will be tremendously increased.

The one absorbing issue will be a fight to save our State Enforcement Law. On November 4th, 1924, our State Enforcement Act was endorsed at the polls in a referendum fight by a majority of 8,183, while, at the same time we succeeded in overcoming an adverse majority of 103,000 in a previous election. The Constitutional Liberty League has declared war on that state law and will seek a referendum for its repeal at the November election. It will no doubt be a hard battle but we have faith to believe that a great victory can be won for law and order.

Governor Frank G. Allen in his annual message to the General Court on

the first day of January, this year, took a noble and courageous stand against any repeal of our State Law. He said:

"I believe that one of the greatest dangers which threatens us today is indifference in the observance of law. Violation and the evasion of law are a direct threat to the stability of our institutions and the permanence of our government.

"The repeal of our state law providing for the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution would not change the fundamental situation with regard to prohibition. The Federal Constitution rules. The repeal of the State Enforcement Act would be an open invitation and an incentive to violate the law. It would breed and nourish lawlessness—lawlessness which spreads as contagion to destroy all law.

"Any of our citizens who may be opposed to the Eighteenth Amendment are provided by the constitution itself with a lawful and orderly method for repealing the amendment. So long as the Eighteenth Amendment is law, our duty is clear-cut and well defined. Whether a person believes in the wisdom of the Eighteenth Amendment or not, he ought to stand squarely with the enforcement of the supreme law of the land.

"I urge in the strongest possible terms upon every officer within the Commonwealth the duty of strict enforcement of the law. I urge the important duty of strict observance of law upon every citizen.

"Massachusetts has always been a stalwart supporter and defender of the Constitution of the United States. Massachusetts has always stood for law and order."

That splendid and courageous message of Governor Allen has inspired the forces of good citizenship with a new courage and determination to win. It has also, of course, stirred our enemies to an intensified opposition. But for most of our citizens there will no longer be any question as to the true character of the repeal movement, for it stands revealed as an effort to make easier the nullification of the Eighteenth Amendment. Governor Allen has made the issue clear.

The Association Against the Prohibition Amendment has promised to pour in money to help in the accomplishment of their objective in Massachusetts.

The entire nation will have much at stake in the impending battle on the Atlantic coast, for it is the belief of the enemies of prohibition that "Massachusetts occupies a strategic position" in their program to repeal our State Enforcement Law as one more step to accomplish their goal; namely, the ultimate repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. Massachusetts can be saved the disgrace of becoming a "Rebel State"—but it will cost much money, sacrifice and energy. If it means anything to the nation, as well as to the Old Bay State to save our state law, then this is the time when the Massachusetts Anti-Saloon League ought to have every ounce of moral and financial backing that the nation can offer.

Notwithstanding the fact that the year 1929 brought many changes in the personnel of the staff, the League finds itself today in a position of much more general favor. For some time many of our leading constituents had emphasized the need for a strong, aggressive and sane leadership. In accordance with that general demand, Mr. Arthur J. Davis was recalled from his position in New York and he commenced his duties in the month of September last. Many letters and telephone messages have been received at our headquarters congratulating the League upon its wise decision to again place Mr. Davis at its head. Contributors who had refused to support the

League quickly renewed their gifts, and ministers and churches have renewed their interest and cooperation, because they recognize in Superintendent Davis a man splendidly qualified by years of experience to be the leader of our great cause.

Under our state law it was necessary to organize a campaign committee to oppose the movement for any repeal of our state law. Under Mr. Davis' leadership, the Constitution Defense Committee has been organized, supported by men and women of commanding influence who have authorized the use of their names. Mr. Davis has already assumed the position of campaign director.

Through the medium of the Constitution Defense Committee, we are able to mobilize the state forces for good citizenship, law and order—as well as prohibition.

Our Legislature is now in session, and Mr. Davis feels it is imperative that he should remain on the job. I greatly regret that he will not be with us at this convention.

It has been advertised that the keynote of this 24th annual convention will be—"FORWARD MARCH." That is an opportune slogan, for this is a time in the history of American prohibition when we need a new baptism of the crusading spirit. It is a time when we need to gird ourselves anew "with the whole armor of God that we may be able to stand in the evil day—and having done all, to stand." With a new faith—new courage and new consecration to our great cause, let the slogan indeed be "FORWARD MARCH"—while we forget not to pray

"Lead on, O King Eternal:
We follow not with fears,
For gladness breaks the morning
Where'er Thy face appears;
Thy cross is lifted o'er us,
We journey in its Light;
The Crown awaits the conquest,
Lead on, O God of Might."

MICHIGAN

By R. N. Holsaple, *State Superintendent.*

The past year has witnessed an expansion of program and effort in the Michigan Anti-Saloon League never before realized by the organization.

Crowded quarters occupied for the last four years made necessary the removal of the office to a more commodious location, and the enlargement of the force of workers. The staff now numbers seven men who together with the superintendent make a force of eight, giving their entire time to the conduct of the work, in addition to a publicity director who gives such portion of his time as is necessary to the editing of the American Issue and preparation of other items of publicity from time to time. Twenty-five special Sunday speakers are available from time to time and a large number of them are employed every Sunday. The office staff consists of five women, all of whose time is occupied in office routine, in addition to several others who are employed at intervals for varying periods.

During the past year, Bishop Joseph F. Berry, of Binghamton, New York, was employed to make a tour of the State speaking every night during the week except Saturday in addition to each Sunday. His address created a profound impression on the State and were productive of much good. Dr. George W.

Morrow toured the State for several months with the motion picture machine showing a scientific film on "Alcohol and the Human Body," prepared by Dr. John Harvey Kellogg of Battle Creek.

The Michigan Anti-Saloon League took an active part in the campaign for the defeat of former Governor Al Smith for the Presidency. The League speakers called attention to the wet record of Mr. Smith and copies of his record were distributed in large numbers. More than five tons of mail and literature went out from the Detroit office during the campaign.

The growth of sentiment favorable to prohibition in the State during the last year has been very noticeable and is beyond question today. A tightening up in the enforcement of the law is in evidence in every section of the State. The Michigan State police have proven a most efficient organization and cooperate in every way possible not only to secure a thorough enforcement of the laws in general, but special and conscientious attention is given to the matter of enforcing the prohibition law. The Federal Prohibition Department in Michigan is one of the most efficient in the entire country. Prosecutions are made easier by the fact that our Federal courts do not constantly seek to find loopholes in the law nor themselves create openings whereby bootleggers can escape punishment. The rule here is to send prohibition violators to jail or prison. Fines and penalties collected from prohibition violators reach an amount each year far in excess of the cost of operating the prohibition department within the State. The sheriffs, prosecuting attorneys, and police departments throughout the State generally are aggressive, efficient and conscientious in the enforcement of the prohibition law. The few public officials who condone prohibition violation and fail to enforce the law, stand out prominently and notoriously because of their scarcity.

The last Legislature elected a good many more dry members than any preceding one. Out of the thirteen Congressmen in this State, eleven are dry, the only two wet Congressmen coming from the city of Detroit. Both United States Senators have a reputation under record of voting for all reasonable measures for the enforcement of prohibition and appropriations to secure its successful enforcement.

The emphasis of the Michigan Anti-Saloon League is on the educational side of the work, however. Great quantities of literature are distributed constantly, touching on every phase of the situation. Demonstrations are held in various cities where charts, posters, models, etc., show the nature and effect of alcohol on the individual and on the human race. Scientific motion picture films are exhibited, addresses are given in the schools, before clubs and various groups. This demonstration lasts a week and proves very interesting and popular.

February 10, 1930, we shall launch an entirely new phase of our educational program. It will be in the nature of an old fashioned gospel temperance crusade. Meetings will be held in the town every evening for a week or two, addressed by the same speaker. Different phases of the prohibition question will be discussed each night. Every address will close with a deeply religious appeal for total abstinence and the signing of the total abstinence pledge. On Sunday, Anti-Saloon League meetings will be held in the various churches of the city during the day with a union mass meeting in the evening.

A machine which automatically throws different slides on a screen is in operation and in this wise the prohibition story and the story of the harmful effect of alcohol is graphically told. The machine shows from thirty to sixty different pictures or slides, each one containing some vital fact. It operates automatically and when placed in a store window is a constant spokesman for prohibition.

Michigan has the record of giving the largest majority for prohibition ever

registered in any election, over 207,000. She enjoys the record of having assessed through its Federal courts the highest average fine on prohibition violations of any State in the union and in spite of the difficult problems confronting the enforcement officials and the natural difficulties created by the diverse nationalities making up the population, the narrow boundary line between Michigan and Canada, she continues to register approval of prohibition and opposition to any and all attempts to weaken or overthrow the same and thus restore to her people the old iniquitous traffic of drink.

MINNESOTA

By David L. McBride, *State Superintendent.*

There is clear evidence that in Minnesota during the decade now closing PROHIBITION HAS MADE A DISTINCT ADVANCE TOWARD ITS GOAL—a flying goal of less and less liquor and better enforcement. We have little expectation, here or elsewhere, of one hundred per cent annihilation either of liquor or of law-breaking. Hundreds of year from now there will doubtless be vestiges of these evils. It is reasonable to hope, however, that in the approaching decade or two the consumption of alcoholic drinks will go on diminishing, and that the agencies of enforcement will more and more effectively administer just punishment upon law-breakers.

It must be stated at once that such a hope can justify itself only upon the assumption that vigorous and successful warfare be carried on against those elements of society who are now practically in rebellion against the law.

We have no hesitation in saying that in the progress Minnesota has been making toward these desirable ends of less liquor and more law enforcement, the Anti-Saloon League has in the past contributed in a large and valuable way and must continue so to contribute in the future. So powerful, alert and tireless are the workings of evil-minded men for the legal or illegal return of liquor; so pre-occupied, indifferent and indisposed to further warfare are many thousands of our fellow citizens, both in the churches and out, that the dissolution or disbanding of the Anti-Saloon League in this State would seriously cripple the forces of moral progress and postpone and even imperil the final success of prohibition itself.

A survey of the decade reveals as outstanding events in our work, (a) the change in superintendents; (b) the financial depression which we share with banks, farmers, churches, and people in general; (c) the stressing of our educational program, while not neglecting law enforcement and care in securing dry officials; and (d) the more frequent utilizing of week nights, mass meetings, reaching the young people and the "entertainment with a message" idea.

Gratifying indications of the friendliness of most of our citizens toward prohibition may be seen in an improved attitude of many of our newspapers, and the general satisfaction manifested over the successful prosecution of important liquor cases when both so-called "prominent citizens" and notorious police characters were involved. One such notable case was the conviction of County Sheriff Oscar Martinson for participation in a "wholesale whisky plot" which undertook in 1920 to railroad liquor by the carload from Winnipeg to the Twin Cities. Another was the raiding of the Eagles Club in 1925 where a well equipped barroom of the old style was prepared to serve a membership of about six thousand, comprising a majority of the city's police force and many leading officials including the mayor. A State Senator was among the dozen convicted. These desirable consummations could hardly have been brought about but for the general indignation which found expression in press and pulpit and on the street. Of high interest in the former case is the subsequent history of the

County Sheriff. Of course he was not "made good by law," nevertheless, after serving his two years at Leavenworth and spending three years as Chief of Police in the California movie town, Universal City, and then for a while managing a gambling place, he finally "came to himself" and has since been doing works meet for repentance in the Salvation Army and as an evangelist.

Changes in ownership and editorial staff of our biggest Twin City wet daily are proving favorable to our cause, since the paper's still lingering moisture is of a noticeably milder type. Other papers in the cities and throughout the State still give Brisbane the right of way to boost for beer and wine and thus repay the twelve big brewers for the hundreds of thousands of dollars they gave him some years ago.

Rural papers here are nearly all actively dry or are quiescent on the subject. Very few are outspoken for liquor. Here, for example, are excerpts from two or three:

From "Levang's Weekly" (Lanesboro)—"Where has the town drunkard gone? A few who got their start back before 1920 remain with us, not many. Where is the shop force disrupted every Monday morning because of the week-end debauch of some of its members? Where is the old lawyer or doctor drinking himself into his grave? Where is the newspaper office with its ever-present quota of inebriates drinking their way to ruin? All this has virtually vanished. The great peril has been removed."

From the "Houston Chronicle and Herald"—"Where is the man whose children used to meet him at the door of his place of employment on Saturday afternoon so they could get shoes before he got to a saloon? There used to be a lot of that in Houston. Where are the wives who dreaded the homecoming of liquor-besotted husbands. There are a few left in Houston. Some years ago their names were legion."

From the "Fairmont Sentinel"—"Visit any of Martin county's dozen prosperous villages, get in your car, go up and down our unequaled farming districts; spend a week—yes, a month, or even more, and we doubt if you will meet a man, woman, boy or girl that shows the least sign of having had even so much as a drop of booze. When a drunken beast comes in from the outside we arrest him, sentence him to jail, and put him to work digging sewers. Our officials have no respect for law-breakers."

From the "Minneapolis Journal"—"Does any unbiased observer who ever stood on Washington Avenue on a Saturday night a dozen years ago, and who is around town nights in this year 1926, actually think there is more excessive drinking going on in this town now than there was then? Even the most ardent wet who really knows his Minneapolis, must perceive the absurdity of the (Moderation) League's assumption. In the old days a drunk could stagger up Nicollet Avenue, and so long as he did not molest sober folk he was not likely to be arrested. Let one try it today and he wouldn't get two blocks. Had the police tried to arrest all the drunks in 1914, thousands of patrolmen would have been required, and a dozen jails to hold a single Saturday night's haul."

Today a Methodist minister writes in to this office: "In all the ten years of prohibition I have had no member of my church come to me to ask support in keeping husband away from drink. Nor have I known one single family ruined by a father's alcoholic adventures. In the old days this was, sadly enough, an experience common to the ministry."

Another in today's mail says: "The portion of homes that were impoverished and made to despair because of liquor within the circle of my acquaintances is distinctly diminished. Men may still be using it, and even more than I

know; but ten years ago its vulgar expression before my eyes was many times greater than it is now."

Such quotations could be multiplied many times over. They form a better basis of judgment on prohibition than the wails of the thirsty or the ranting of brewers' hired scribes.

It can hardly be said of county officials in Minnesota that in general they have been aggressive against law-breakers. There are some fine exceptions, however, and a dozen of our counties have even demonstrated that bootleggers can be made to "pay their way to jail" and add a neat sum to the county treasury.

Politically Minnesota is, we believe, just a little drier than ten years ago, judging by election results. The State Legislature is safer on the dry issue than ever; and our Washington contingent is at least three-fourths dry, and might be still better if the plea for "party regularity" were less effective.

The W. C. T. U. here is emphasizing scientific temperance in schools but we have at hand now no means of knowing with what measure of success.

W. G. Calderwood, nationally known as a leader in the Prohibition party, has been for years doing a most valuable work in securing newspaper publicity, having worked up a long list of papers over the entire nation which are willing to give space for his articles and "vox populi" letters.

MONTANA

By W. L. Wade, *State Superintendent.*

Montana was the seventh State to ratify the Eighteenth Amendment. On February 18, 1918, the House of Representatives voted, the result being 77 to 8, while on February 19, the Senate gave its approval by a vote of 35 to 2.

On November 7, 1916, the voters of the State adopted a referendum measure providing bone dry prohibition. This measure went into effect December 31, 1918. In 1921 over the protests of the Anti-Saloon League, the W. C. T. U. and other interested organizations, the legislature legalized the prescribing of spirituous liquors for medicinal purposes. Following this action on the part of the legislature and at the request of the dry forces, the provisions of the Volstead Act were enacted into a State law and provision was made for the creation of a State fund for prohibition law enforcement by setting aside one-half of the fines and forfeitures collected from those convicted of violating the prohibition law.

Following the adoption of the prohibition law, every session of the legislature, including the last one, saw measures introduced to weaken the State prohibition law or to memorialize Congress to modify the Volstead Act and each and every one were defeated by the legislature or vetoed by the Governor.

Practically all candidates for State office, given Anti-Saloon League endorsement, have been elected. At the present time there is only one State official who would class himself as a Wet while the great majority were elected as avowed Drys.

Federal prohibition enforcement in Montana has suffered during a part of the prohibition period because in charge of men unfriendly to the law but, during that period, the State prohibition law was in force, and State officials were active and efficient and this centered the wet attacks largely upon State officials. Then in 1925 when a Dry Federal District Attorney was appointed who would co-operate with State prohibition enforcement officials, the wets immediately made their plans for a campaign to repeal the State prohibition law and thus prevent the co-operation which they realized meant their overthrow.

This campaign was waged by initiating a measure to repeal all State liquor

laws. The wets appealed to the bootlegger on the grounds that this would materially lessen his chances of apprehension. To the liberal citizen they said that it would aid modification. To the dry property holder, they claimed it would reduce taxes, while to the drys in general they claimed it would aid enforcement by placing sole responsibility upon the Federal government.

The greatest obstacle which confronted the dry forces was over-confidence. We found it almost impossible to arouse the people. Their attitude made it impossible to finance an intensive and extensive campaign, and it also caused dry leaders in both political parties to ignore the repeal issue.

Following the repeal of the State prohibition laws the Anti-Saloon League together with other temperance and church organizations began work for the initiation of a new law. The Anti-Saloon League carefully organized the State and with the aid of the W. C. T. U. was able in one week's time to secure a sufficient number of signatures to the initiative petitions to guarantee the placing of the measure on the ballot.

An intensive campaign was waged in 1928 by both Wets and the Drys but the presidential and governorship campaigns overshadowed all other issues and this, together with false and misleading propaganda published in much of the press of the State undoubtedly led to much confusion on the part of the voters. Always before, initiatory and referred measures were placed each on a separate ballot but the legislature of 1927 referred a measure to the voters and placed it on a separate ballot and at the same session passed a law placing all other measures on the main ballot with the names of candidates. Positively no campaign of any kind was made for or against the referred measure which was on the special ballot but it polled 12,781 more votes than were cast on the prohibition measure. More votes by 7,163 were cast on the prohibition measure in 1926 than in 1928 but the total 1928 vote was much larger than that of 1926; President Hoover polling a vote of 113,300 to Governor Smith 78,578.

This campaign thoroughly demonstrated the need of newspaper publicity to reach the average voter. The Wets, in their fight against a State prohibition law, were able to secure this publicity through the assistance of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, who paid their bills while the Drys without adequate funds to pay for this much needed help were forced to depend largely upon leaflets and the spoken word.

During the year 1928 the Montana Anti-Saloon League and those organizations co-operating with it held 875 public meetings, distributed 1,200,000 pieces of literature which amounted to 2,575,000 book pages. We had two men employed full time and seven part time; a total of 509 days work were rendered by the girls in the office; one girl working full time and six part time; 5,750 news letters were furnished the press of the State by our publicity agent; our field workers traveled a total of 45,500 miles.

Everything indicates that sentiment against the use of intoxicating liquors is stronger today than it was when the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted but the desire for better control is every where manifest. The Wets never extol the virtues of alcohol in any form but rather endeavor to establish the inadequacy of prohibition.

Federal prohibition enforcement in Montana is better now than at any time in the past but conditions are much worse than before repeal of our State law.

The Anti-Saloon League of Montana has endeavored to keep a reasonable educational program before the citizens. Wet articles have been answered, but some papers publishing anti-prohibition material have failed to publish the other side of the question.

Much material has been furnished to students in schools and colleges for use in essays and debates. Most of the schools have received instruction

through Anti-Saloon League workers. In 1926 the Anti-Saloon League of Montana engaged the services of Hon. W. D. Bayley of Manitoba, Canada, now Director of Temperance Education for the Province of Manitoba and in co-operation with the W. C. T. U. and with the endorsement of the leading educators of the State Mr. Bayley delivered his wonderful temperance address in 18 public schools in 78 cities or towns, reaching 912 grades with an enrollment of more than 20,000 pupils. In some cases high school students voluntarily remained twenty minutes after time for dismissal in order to hear all of the lecture while grade school pupils cheered when the teacher permitted the speaker to continue through the recess period.

It is our plan to continue this kind of work.

Montana should be brought back into line with a State prohibition enforcement code and we believe this is possible. Avowed wet candidates for State office have not been able to secure election since the adoption of National Prohibition. When the Eighteenth Amendment was submitted to the States for approval Montana's delegation was all recorded on the dry side and this record has continued throughout the years.

Montana will again assume her duties and help to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The Anti-Saloon League intends to "carry on" until the job is completed.

PLAN OF PROHIBITION ESSAY AND ORATORICAL CONTESTS IN NEBASKA

Rev. F. A. High
Superintendent, Nebraska Anti-Saloon League

1. Objective:

   To create an interest in, and an intensive study of the prohibition question by students in the Universities, Colleges and Normal Schools of the state.

2. Plan of Contest:

   (1) Essay Contest—
   (a) Open to all regularly enrolled undergraduate students.
   (b) Subject of Essay: "Ten Years of Prohibition."
   (c) Essay to be limited to not more than 2,000 words.

   (2) Oratorical Contest—
   (a) Open to all regularly enrolled undergraduate students.
   (b) Subject of Oration: "Ten Years of Prohibition."
   (c) Oration to be limited to fifteen minutes.

3. Rules Governing Contest:

   (1) Only schools maintaining four year College courses are eligible.
   (2) Participating schools shall enter both Essay and Oratorical contests.
   (3) Any student may enter either the Essay or the Oratorical contest, but not both.
   (4) Each Essay and Oration must be accompanied by a comprehensive bibliography.
   (5) The ten best Essays in each school shall be returned to their respective authors, who shall have ten days to rewrite or revise and resubmit for final decision.
   (6) Each school shall determine its method of conducting contest and selecting the winners.

(7) The names and addresses of winning contestants shall be furnished the Anti-Saloon League of Nebraska not later than December 31.

4. Books of Reference:

The following books of reference are suggested: "Prohibition At Its Worst," Fisher; "Prohibition Still At Its Worst," Fisher; "Prohibition, An Adventure In Freedom," Warner; "Prohibition: Its Economic And Industrial Aspects," Feldman; "Quiz Book," Doty; "Fifteen Years of the Drink Question," Stoddard; "Normal Training Course of Study, State of Nebraska," Taylor; "Anti-Saloon League Year Books."

5. National Convention:

The winner of the Essay contest and the winner of the Oratorical contest in each school will become a delegate to the Biennial National Convention of the Anti-Saloon League of America, to be held in Detroit from January 15th to 19th, and they will have their expenses paid to and from Detroit, and entertainment while at the Convention.

Comments on the "College Contest"

"The College contest was a great success."

"Hundreds of students made a real study of the prohibition question, and arrived at definite conclusions regarding it."

"Practically the whole student body in the various colleges came face to face with the question of prohibition."

"The student body as a whole discussed the question freely. Small groups frequently debated the merits of prohibition."

"The value of the contest would be hard to estimate because the results will continue to be revealed for many years to come."

"I consider the contest exceedingly valuable in that it stimulated serious discussion of the task that will soon be before the young men and women in college now—the citizen's duty in enforcement."

"The contest has been viewed with interest, not only by the contestants themselves, but by the entire student body."

"The greatest value is in getting people to think. If they only think, eventually they will think rightly."

"Undoubtedly, the contest has brought home the fact that we have an Anti-Saloon League that is an active organization with a work still to do in the world—and it is endeavoring to do it."

NEVADA

By E. F. Jones, *State Superintendent.*

This is an addition to the report from Nevada which appears in the 1928 Anti-Saloon League Year-Book. We reported there the facts in regard to State legislation, the acts of the Governor and the decision of the State Supreme Court declaring the legislative attempts to incorporate the Wright Act of California as a part of the law of Nevada void. This left the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment in the hands of the Federal officials, particularly the United States District Court. These events amounted to a calamity for the dry cause.

United States District Judge, E. S. Farrington, died leaving a vacancy which was filled by the appointment of Frank H. Norcross in 1928. The attitude of Judge Farrington as an administrator of the law was well shown by his

sentences upon the guilty. Of Judge Norcross the less said the better.

Dry sentiment is growing especially among what is usually called the "upper crust" or those who are wealthy and influential. "Wild parties" are, without doubt, on the decrease. The demand for California grapes for the making of wine is steadily on the decline as is shown by the number of cars unloaded. Our greatest difficulty in securing State legislation is due to the fact that our State constitution provides that all fines shall be paid into the loan school fund and that only the interest therefrom can be used for school purposes. This makes the passage of a State law extremely difficult if not impossible as the costs of enforcement must all be paid out of funds raised by local taxation.

In the minds of the better class of people who have hertofore been wet in sentiment, bootleggers are fast taking their places among other criminals. President Hoover's stand has had a very gratifying effect on our law-abiding people.

G. W. Brady is in charge of Federal enforcement in Nevada. Notwithstanding the fact that he has but a few men and is handicapped by lack of State cooperation he is doing good work.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

By Ernest L. Converse, *State Superintendent.*

"Prohibition is working well in New Hampshire, but we have twenty strenuous years ahead of us yet." So said our State Commissioner of Education, Mr. Ernest W. Butterfield, in a newspaper interview some time ago. This statement seems to give the conditions admirably for New Hampshire.

The State was fortunate from the start in its enforcement activities. The State prohibition law passed in 1917 called for a State Commissioner of Law Enforcement to make prohibition effective. The first commissioner was Rev. Jonathan S. Lewis, a man whose heart was in the work and whose ability matched his devotion.

Later Mr. Lewis was made head of the Federal Unit in the State. His predecessor in the Federal position, Mr. George H. Whitcher, was also a conscientious official. Mr. Lewis was succeded as State Commissioner by Mr. Ralph W. Caswell whom he had trained in the department. Mr. Caswell has maintained the record of his predecessor.

New Hampshire lost Mr. Lewis about three years ago. However, he was not lost to the service. He was transferred to the district office of the New England district as assistant administrator. Later he became administrator, which position he now holds. This fact is evidence of the high quality of national enforcement for the New England district.

The present Federal deputy administrator for New Hampshire is another man who served his apprenticeship under Mr. Lewis. Dr. Harold W. Eager is an honest, efficient official.

The ground work for prohibition in New Hampshire was well laid by Rev. J. H. Robbins, superintendent for twenty-two and a half years of the New Hampshire Anti-Saloon League. Mr. Robbins was an able leader respected by friend and foe.

The voting record of New Hampshire's delegation in Washington is almost uniformly dry. Senator Moses voted for a so called medicinal beer bill and Congressman Hale voted against the passage of the Jones law. Otherwise the record is perfectly dry according to our understanding.

The State has been fortunate in its governors. The present Governor,

Charles W. Tobey, is a conscientious, fearless prohibitionist. Every governor save one since the State law was passed has favored the policy of prohibition and most of them consistently and conscientiously.

On the whole our courts have functioned well. The judge of the Federal Court, George F. Morris, has given evidence that whatever his attitude about prohibition as such, he considers it his business to administer the laws honestly and effectively. Lawyers are held to their duties; needless delays are not allowed. The dockets are practically cleared up each term. The district attorney's office and the prohibition office cooperate to this end.

Some of the municipal courts are presided over by judges whose bias against prohibition is not concealed. Certain cases handled in some of those courts would lead the fair minded observer to question whether the primary intention was to administer the law or to protect the criminal. But on the whole the municipal courts function reasonably well. The State courts do creditable work.

The New Hampshire Anti-Saloon League is giving special emphasis to sentiment building and temperance education. For several years we have used the motion picture "Lest We Forget." We are now using the court scene "Who Killed Earl Wright?" By these means we can reach out to those not actively interested now. The court scene enables us to get good crowds in small places on week nights. It is effective in the message it carries. On seven Sunday nights we reached an aggregate of over 3,000 people with the court scene.

The outstanding legislative result of the last year's activity was the restoration to the State law of a provision to make it possible to deal with offenders for illegal possession. The original State law had contemplated that but a Supreme Court ruling interpreted the law as not clearly providing for it.

The standing of the League in the State is testified to in part by the make up of its officers and board of trustees. The president is the state commissioner of agriculture. One of the vice-presidents is a leading lawyer of the State who was for eight years county prosecuting attorney. Three other lawyers are on the board. Outstanding pastors from the various denominations are members of the board. Among other trustees are the present governor and a former governor, several leaders of the State Legislature, educators, prominent manufacturers and others.

NEW JERSEY

THE HOBART ORDINANCE

A Local Prohibition Ordinance for Municipal Home-Rule in Law Enforcement

An ordinance concerning intoxicating liquor used or to be used for beverage purposes within the

..... of .....

Be it ordained by the Council (or as the case may be) of the.....of .....in the County of ..... as follows:

Section 1. No person within the limits of the ..... of ..... shall manufacture, sell, barter, transport, deliver, furnish or possess any intoxicating liquors under penalty of a fine of not to exceed one hundred dollars or by imprisonment for not exceeding thirty days, or both, for the first offense; for the second offense, of a fine of not less than one hundred and fifty dollars, nor more than two hundred dollars, and by imprisonment for not less than sixty days nor more than ninety days; and for a third or

subsequent offense, by a fine of two hundred dollars and by imprisonment for ninety days, such imprisonment in each case to be in the jail of the county, known as the County Jail, and in default of the payment of any fine imposed hereunder, any person so in default may, in discretion of the magistrate, be so imprisoned for a term not exceeding ninety days.

Section 2. The word "liquor" and the words "intoxicating liquor" shall each be construed to mean and to include:

(a) Alcohol, and brandy, whisky, rum, gin, beer, ale, porter, wine and any other spirituous, vinous, malt, brewed or fermented liquor or mixed liquors, which contain one-half of one per centum or more alcohol, by volume, and which are used or to be used for beverage purposes.

(b) All liquids, admixtures and compounds, whether medicated, proprietary, patented or not, and by whatever name called, which contain one-half of one per centum, or more, of alcohol, by volume, and which are fit for use for beverage purposes.

The words "fit for use for beverage purposes" shall be construed to mean any liquid which is suitable for a drink, or is adapted, or is intended by the manufacturer thereof or the dealer therein to be used as a drink.

The word "person" shall mean and include natural persons, associations, copartnerships and corporations.

The Legal Basis for the Hobart Ordinance

Is found in the "Home Rule Act." Chapter 152, Laws of 1917, Article XIV Section 1, provides that the governing body of every municipality of New Jersey may make, publish, enforce, amend or repeal ordinances for the following purposes, among others:

(g) "To prevent vice, drunkenness and immorality, to preserve public peace and good order."

(h) "To restrain and punish drunkards, vagrants, mendicants and street beggars."

Section 2 of said article provides:

"Every municipality shall have power to make, enforce, amend and repeal such other ordinances, regulations, rules and by-laws not contrary to the laws of this State or of the United States, as they may deem necessary and proper for the good government, order, protection of persons and property, and for the preservation of the public health, safety and prosperity of the municipality and its inhabitants, and as may be necessary to carry into effect the powers and duties conferred and imposed by this act or by any law of this State."

No jury trial or indictment is called for in enforcing a municipal ordinance. The Legislature, by the "Home Rule Act," provides for such an ordinance and it has full power so to do. Lawyers interested can satisfy themselves of this by examining Howe vs. Plainfield, 39 N. J. L., 145, and that line of decisions, as contrasted with State vs. Anderson, 11 Vroom, 224. George S. Hobart, Esq., author of our "Hobart Laws," has carefully briefed this whole subject, and we shall be glad to advise with any attorney interested.

Advantages of Municipal Ordinances

1. The responsibility for enforcement of minor offenses is placed upon local officials.

2. Many comparatively minor offenses which are now the subject of indictment and jury trial, would be finally disposed of in the municipal courts and thereby the congestion of the upper state courts, as well as of the federal courts, would be relieved.

3. The various prosecutors and the federal district attorneys would be in a position to devote their time to the important offenders.

4. The federal prohibition enforcement department would likewise be in a position to devote its time to the men higher up.

5. Perhaps the most important advantage would be a reasonable assurance of prompt arrest for a violation of the ordinance and for prompt punishment in the event of conviction.

It has frequently been said that "Justice delayed, is justice denied."

It may be said with equal truth that "Punishment postponed, is crime condoned."

OKLAHOMA

By H. T. Laughbaum, *State Superintendent and Attorney.*

I became the Attorney and Legislative Superintendent of the Oklahoma Anti-Saloon League March 1, 1906. I am still holding these positions. On June 18, 1912, I was elected superintendent and continue to hold the same office. During these years I attended the State Constitutional Convention and each session of the Legislature since statehood, and had charge of drafting the prohibition laws for Oklahoma. It was my privilege to write one-half of one per cent of alcohol measured by volume as the definition of "intoxicating liquor" in the first prohibition law that ever fixed that standard and which was enacted into law by our first legislature. I also was honored as a member of a sub-committee of seven at the National Anti-Saloon League Convention held in Columbus, Ohio, in November, 1913, which drafted the resolution declaring for a "Saloonless Nation by 1920." President Woodrow Wilson appointed me as one of twelve delegates to represent the United States at the Fourteenth International Congress on Alcoholism which met in Milan, Italy. For the past four years I have served as a member of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Saloon League of America and have attended every meeting of the committee. For the past 20 years I have been a member of the Board of Directors of the Anti-Saloon League of America and never missed a meeting.

Approximately 3,000 Anti-Saloon League meetings in which subscriptions were taken to finance the work were held in Oklahoma during the past 10 years since the Eighteenth Amendment became effective. In addition thereto addresses were made at church conferences, to other group meetings, and to Sunday Schools, and Men's and Women's Classes, and to public schools.

In 1920 and 1928 I attended the Republican and Democratic National Conventions. I also attended most of the Republican and Democratic State Conventions. I also had the privilege of being present when each Governor of Oklahoma was sworn into office and heard their inaugural addresses. I was present when the Senate sitting as a Court of Impeachment voted and found guilty two of Oklahoma's Governors. In fact I have always tried to be present whenever anything pertaining to prohibition or the enforcement of same was involved.

The Anti-Saloon League and the W. C. T. U. closely co-operate in Oklahoma, in carrying out our legislative program, and in the primary and general election campaigns. The W. C. T. U. is very active in Oklahoma and our best ally. We co-operated in securing a Scientific Temperance Law requiring the teaching of the evil effects of alcohol and other narcotics on the human system in the schools of Oklahoma. The 1928 legislature passed Senate Bill No. 37, which I drafted, fixing Friday nearest the 16th of January each year as Temperance Day in all the public schools of the State, and requires that at least one hour must be spent in teaching the scholars the history of temperance.

Public sentiment in favor of prohibition has been growing in Oklahoma with great rapidity. In witness whereof we cite the results of the election Nov. 6, 1928. Although Oklahoma is a Democratic State, Herbert Hoover had a majority of 174,846 over Alfred E. Smith for President of the United States. Incidentally I might mention I was away from home 255 days and nights in the fight during 1928. Along with the growth of prohibition sentiment law enforcement activities have increased both in the enforcement of the State and Federal laws.

We are proud of the fact that our two United States Senators and eight Congressmen in the House of Representatives are DRY. Our delegation in Congress has been 100 per cent dry the last 10 years and we feel safe in predicting the delegation in the next Congress will also be 100 per cent dry.

Oklahoma was admitted as a Constitutional Prohibition State Nov. 16, 1907, and on Nov. 16, 1929, celebrated the twenty-second anniversary of Statehood. Every boy and girl in Oklahoma who was 22 years old Nov. 16, 1929, and younger, was born since the saloons were closed. They know nothing of the evils and tragedies of the saloon. The wets are trying to poison their minds against prohibition with their wet propaganda, wet jokes and wet cartoons. We are doing what we can to carry on an intensive campaign of education to overcome their efforts. We are stressing law observance as well as law enforcement. If there were no purchaser or drinker of liquor there would be no moonshiners or bootleggers. Those who drink are responsible for the moonshiner and bootlegger. They are responsible for all of the violations of the prohibition laws. They are howling the loudest about prohibition and saying it is a failure and cannot be enforced. They seem to think the whole world is made up of their kind and their associates. They tell us 90 per cent of the homes are making home brew, etc. That is a wet lie. They remind me of a story I heard years ago. It ran like this: "A drunk man was sitting in a saloon asleep one night, and the bartender went over and rubbed some limburger cheese under his nose. In a little while it woke him up and he got up and staggered out of the saloon. It was not long until he opened the door of the saloon and came back in with the tears running down his cheeks and said: 'Aint it awful?' Some one in the saloon asked him 'what is awful?' And he said, 'The whole world stinks.'" He thought the whole world was made up of the same atmosphere he was then living in. That is the way with those who drink liquor they think "the whole world stinks."

In August, 1929, 100 automobiles were stolen in Oklahoma City and 250 of our residences were robbed. In 1928 almost 1,200 automobiles were stolen in Oklahoma City. How many of these automolie thieves and burglars who robbed our houses were ever arrested? How many were ever convicted? Why do not those who demand the repeal of the prohibition laws because they are not enforced 100 per cent demand the repeal of the other criminal laws for the same reason?

Oklahoma was born sober. Oklahoma expects to remain sober.

PENNSYLVANIA

By Homer W. Tope, *State Superintendent*

When Prohibition became effective Pennsylvania had almost 12,000 retail and wholesale liquor establishments and 207 breweries. Conservative estimates made at that time indicated that the people were spending for drink approximately $200,000,000 or an average of $25 for every man, woman and child. It was common knowledge that bootlegging was very prevalent, especially in the large cities where the license fees were high. When William E. Johnson, rep-

resenting a New York paper, made a survey of conditions in Philadelphia under the Brooks High License Law, he found over 4.000 speakeasies enjoying police protection.

In the Federal Court at Pittsburgh seventy-two Pennsylvania brewers pleaded guilty to the expenditures of enormous political corruption funds, and paid their fines. At the time of the adoption of prohibition only a small minority of the counties had been put dry by action of the court and these were mostly in the rural section. Up until the adoption of prohibition the saloonkeepers were organized by counties. They were very powerful. They were dominated by the State Brewers Association. They constituted one of the most dangerous agencies of political corruption ever known in the history of any State. The county liquor organizations in large measure dictated who should hold all important offices which had to deal in any way with their business.

Prohibition has in large measure destroyed that power especially with reference to the judiciary. In the old days men were named for the bench by the liquor leagues with scant regard to either character or legal ability. To-day candidates for the judiciary are compelled to stand on their own merits. If to win the office they must make a large expenditure of money, they or their friends must furnish the money. It can no longer be squeezed out of the county saloonkeepers' organizations. If ten years of prohibition has brought Pennsylvania nothing else, it has been abundantly well worth while because of the manner in which it has emancipated our judiciary from the control of a special interest.

Aspirants for public office are no longer fearful of the consequences if the Anti-Saloon League or the Woman's Christian Temperance Union declare in favor of their election. As a matter of fact, practically all candidates who are reasonably fair and right on this question are glad to have the public know that they have the support of these organizations.

For fifteen years preceding the adoption of prohibition the Anti-Saloon League waged a continuous warfare for the adoption of a local option law. The liquor organizations resisted this with all their energy and were constantly successful in defeating it. To-day many wets are shouting in favor of local option for States and counties that want it. But their hypocrisy is too apparent to make much headway with the average thoughtful man.

It required hard fighting to secure enforcement codes. Nevertheless, the State has measured up fully to the demands of the Federal Constitution in this respect. In 1923, the Legislature enacted the Snyder-Armstrong Law which is proving very satisfactory. It has passed all the tests of the Supreme Court of the State. At a special session in 1926 the Legislature enacted an alcohol control law giving the State jurisdiction over alcohol manufactured for industrial purposes. This is also proving valuable as a restraining measure and has passed the test of the courts.

Under the license system we heard a great deal about the necessity of the revenue. To-day the appropriations by the State Legislature are practically double what they were ten years ago. Nevertheless, we are to-day without liquor revenue. The great prosperity that has come as a result of prohibition has made comparatively easy the task of raising tax money doubling the amount of what it was under the old system.

Our State Legislature makes its appropriations for a two year period. The last appropriation for a full two year period under license began June 1, 1917. To cover the expenses of that period the Legislature appropriated $82,203,607. Ten years later the Legislature appropriated $145,130,154. During the first period $3,541,000 of the revenue came from liquor licenses. In the second period nothing came from that source. The appropriation for public schools

under the license period amounted to $21,154,000. The appropriation ten years later was $74,329,000 for the same purpose.

The most sinister aspect of the prohibition movement in Pennsylvania today is the persistent effort of a few large papers to utterly destroy respect for the Eighteenth Amendment. Their news columns, their editorial columns and other departments are used extensively to accomplish this purpose. A few of the dailies in the third class cities have assumed this same attitude. However, a part of the metropolitan papers, a very large majority of the third class city papers and nearly all of the country papers have been very fair and above criticism in their attitude.

Prohibition was written into the Constitution of America directly as a result of the tremendous influence of the church. Whatever may be the situation elsewhere in Pennsylvania there has been a lamentable slackening of interest in the subject on the part of church people. Many think the fight is over and that the handling of this question, the same as other matters of crime, is in the hands of public officials. They forget that ours is a government by the people and that efficiency on the part of public officials is determined largely by the degree of interest manifested by the average citizen. Unless some method can be devised whereby a revival of public interest on the part of the church may be secured the possibility of holding prohibition in Pennsylvania constitutes a real challenge to its friends. In some of our larger cities the police court records show a deplorable amount of drunkenness, in a few cities the arrests running nearly as high as in the days of the old saloon. On the other hand, however, the drunkard is seldom ever found on the highway or on the more respectable streets as he was under the old saloon system. This has led the majority of our friends to the conclusion that prohibition is a great success and they permit themselves to be relieved of any further feeling of responsibility. Generally speaking there has been a slackening of interest on this question in the public schools. Many teachers seem unfortunately to have the idea that prohibition has removed the necessity for scientific temperance teaching. Instruction concerning alcohol is incidental, rather than scientific and persistent. The Anti-Saloon League is using its pictures and as much as possible the time of its men to re-create a new devotion on the part of our public schools to the continued support of this enterprise.

RHODE ISLAND

R. P. Hutton, *State Superintendent*

RESULTS OF ENFORCEMENT ACTIVITIES

Thanks to a non-partisan Police Commission and a bone-dry, lifelong total-abstinence, Father Mathew Society Chief of Police, Providence, R. I., is the driest big city in America. Due to lack of such a chief and commission, our other Rhode Island cities—Newport, Pawtucket, Central Falls, Cranston and Woonsocket—are not so dry.

The Rhode Island State enforcement law is so little and so weak in penalty that it has little terror for law-breakers. In addition, the general policy of the Attorney General and the courts of deferring (suspending) sentences even in cases of second and third offenders, makes it quite innocuous.

Federal Enforcement Results

Federal fines of $5, and other infinitesimal amounts, made the law a farce for some time. Later Judge Morris of New Hampshire sat here in an emergency and began dealing out adequate sentences. Juries began to convict even more than they had under light sentences.

The "King of the Bootleggers" was sent to the Federal penitentiary for two years, with an additional sentence of $5,000, nearly two years ago. Just now four new "kings" have been sentenced 15 years each.

In spite of the fact that Rhode Island stands as the only State where ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment did not pass even one house of the legislature, in spite of the fact that 76 per cent of her voters are foreign or of foreign percentage, in spite of the fact that only two per cent of her population is rural, the Eighteenth Amendment is better enforced and better obeyed here than in any other Middle Atlantic or New England State except Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont.

Dry Educational Work

The Rhode Island Anti-Saloon League is holding its Sixth Annual State Educational Week during the dry anniversary week this January. It has become a fixed festival. The Sunday before January 16 is observed quite generally in the churches and church schools and young people's societies. Monday of that week is always the State Convention. It opens with a union State-wide Ministers' Meeting under the auspices of the Anti-Saloon League. The afternoon is given over to a School of Methods. The evening meal takes the form of a Testimonial Dinner to the State Attorney General force and the Federal Prohibition and Federal District Attorney forces. The evening session is a State-wide Mass Meeting under the auspices of the united Young People's Societies.

The educational activities are conducted by a committee consisting of the denominational executive State secretaries, denominational directors of religious education, State presidents of all the Young People's Societies, and several State presidents of women's organizations, together with the State president of the W. C. T. U., the State superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League, and the director of Boys' Work for the Y. M. C. A.

Last year they conducted a prize essay contest which was won by an Italian girl. It was for the best 1,000-word summary of Prof. Irving Fisher's book, "Prohibition At Its Worst." She represented the Federal Hill Italian Baptist Mission Sunday School, and competed against 189 representatives from 89 organizations of the State.

For the last two years ten prizes have been offered for the ten best slogans used in a Rhode Island Prohibition Anniversary sermon in 1928, and for the best 100 words on "Why I Support the Eighteenth Amendment and How I Support It" used in such an anniversary sermon, 1929.

This year's activities to date are as follows:

Ten thousand copies, a million pages, of "They Almost Had ME Fooled" (a vest-pocket booklet, 100 answers to 100 wet arguments, indexed for instant reference), distributed to people who will use them to answer wet propaganda wherever they hear it—10,000 dry defenders enlisted.

Many churches publish one point from this book in their calendar each week. Sunday Schools, Organized Classes, Young People's Societies and Church Women's organizations use it for four-minute lessons.

Some have been placed in Y. M. C. A. dormitory rooms, some with discussion clubs, some were distributed to members of luncheon clubs.

One hundred Rhode Island libraries have been furnished with copies of Hobson's "Alcohol and the Human Race," 200 pages scientific study of the effects of alcohol on the human body, the booklet "They Almost Had ME Fooled," numerous printed addresses, and compilations of data on the subject under congressional frank, and a monthly bulletin of book reviews bearing on this subject.

Literature Distributed

10,000	copies "They Almost Had ME Fooled"	1,000,000 pages
1,000	copies Synopsis Durant $25,000 dry prize essays	90,000 pages
500	copies Hobson's "Alcohol and the Human Race"	100,000 pages
5,000	copies "Christian Leaders and the Eighteenth Amendment"	20,000 pages
10,000	copies of documents under congressional frank	200,000 pages
5,000	copies Annual Rhode Island Report and Program	40,000 pages
Miscellaneous literature		20,000 pages
1,000	postal card bulletins	1,000 pages
4,000	copies American Issue	266,000 pages
	Total	1,737,000 pages

26 addresses and conferences reaching 3,700 persons.

Dry Political Status

We have one United States Senator, elected last fall, who filed a dry pledge, "If elected, to use his influence to keep the Eighteenth Amendment and to secure its enforcement." No dry Congressman. Our present Senator is the first dry from this State in either branch of the national Congress.

The State Legislature has a small dry majority in the Senate, which is elected one from each town(ship), but the House is about 40 dry to 60 wet. Never in the last quarter of a century were there more than seven dry towns, and they were the very sparsely settled towns.

The United Dry Forces sponsored the State Police Act, secured its passage, and twice since increased personnel for it. The force has proved helpful in driving rum-runners off the State's roads.

The Association Against the Prohibition Amendment is, for the first time, opening an office in this State, and plans an active, aggressive campaign. They have secured a charter membership among the old "First Families," or "super-society" portion of the State's population. The daily papers could not be worse for the dry cause if they were pure paid propaganda sheets. In spite of all, however, the wet fury seems to be losing momentum from sheer public exhaustion and boredom with the continual dinging on this subject to the exclusion of all others. The drys plan to continue their educational program as outlined above.

TEXAS

By Atticus Webb, *State Superintendent*

Seven years before the coming of national prohibition, 87 per cent of the people of Texas were under prohibition secured by local option elections. At that time the saloons were centered mainly in the larger cities and there gathered the lawless element to entrench the saloons in these cities against all efforts at being driven out by local option.

The major portion of the State had gotten rid of the saloon seven to ten years before the coming of national prohibition. The State of Texas got the benefits of prohibition and improved conditions to such an extent that the coming of national prohibition could not make such marked difference as would have been the case if Texas had not already been made so largely dry. This fact is strikingly indicated by the attendance upon the public schools. Where saloons existed, it was common for the children from homes where the father's income went to the saloon, to be kept out of school for lack of clothes or lack of books.

During the years from 1900 to 1910 the general population increased 27 per cent but the school attendance increased only 24 per cent. During the years 1910 to 1920, when we were rapidly voting Texas dry by local option, the population of the State increased by only 19 per cent, but the school attendance increased 36 per cent. Naturally the coming of national prohibition could not make such marked improvement over what was already so good. In 1915 public school enrollment equalled 73 per cent of the school population. This had increased to 77 per cent in 1918, and to 85 per cent in 1928. The economic value of prohibition is reflected in the financial support given to the public schools. In 1915 the total value of the property used for public school purposes was $45,368,247. Ten years later, 1925, this had increased to $126,457,061. During the same period the total amount spent on running expenses for public schools increased from $21,093,143 in 1915 to $55,687,875 in 1925. Since we have no longer to support the saloons, we can do so much better by the schools.

Most of our cities were made dry later. The economic benefit of prohibition is reflected in the prosperity of these cities. The bank clearings in the city of Dallas for 1918 amounted to $1,076,092,364, which has increased to $2,775,500,725 in 1928. During the same period bank clearings in the city of Galveston increased from $278,382,860 to $1,846,948,000. In Houston the bank clearings during the same period increased from $791,351,619 to $1,825,696,257.

The prosperity of these cities is further shown by the building permits: In 1918 Dallas granted building permits to the amount of $1,677,730 but in 1928 it had increased to $16,392,740. This was done despite the fact that 1928 was an off year in the growth of Dallas, because she had overbuilt during the preceding years. Her building permits for 1925, for instance, had reached $34,849,558. The city of Houston in 1918 granted building permits to the amount of $2,743,819, which had increased in 1928 to $39,218,514; and this city has recently announced a building program for 1930 reaching $56,000,000. In 1918 Fort Worth issued building permits to the amount of $2,267,887, but in 1928 the permits reached $17,022,468. The city of San Antonio issued permits in 1918 to the amount of $3,702,665, and in 1928 $15,621,680. Our little city of Waco has taken on new life under prohibition. Her building permits in 1918 were $549,257, but in 1928 were $2,290,339.

Post office receipts indicate the same growing prosperity under prohibition. The total receipts for Dallas in 1918 were $1,849,146, but in 1928 they amounted to $3,790,957. In Fort Worth in 1918 the total receipts were $818,869, but in 1928 they amounted to $1,908,221, and so on in other cities.

The manufacturing interests tell a similar story. In 1918 Fort Worth paid $5,082,000 in wages and manufactured $38,160,000 worth of goods. In 1928 she paid in wages, $18,500,000 and produced $190,000,000 in manufactured goods.

The number of automobiles owned show the same prosperity. For instance, in Dallas in 1918 there were 21,248 automobiles, but in 1928 there were 78,024. Similar increases are shown in other cities.

Enforcement of Dry Laws

Immediately after the ratification of the Eighteentnh Amendment the dry forces came to the unfortunate conclusion that their fight was over, that there was nothing else to be done, that the law would enforce itself. In fact, they came to this conclusion even before the State enforcement code was written, and the result was that while the penalty in that code was possibly more severe than in any other State, the necessary procedure for catching and convicting bootleggers was made very weak. By the ingenuity of certain wet members of the State Senate, and during a later administration, that of Mrs. Ferguson, through what is known as the Ferguson Search and Seizure Law, more protec-

tion has been thrown around bootleggers than had been known in Texas for a third of a century. This weakness in the State law has been the direct result of the lethargy among friends of the Cause. Coincident with this movement to prevent the conviction of bootleggers, considerable activity on the part of the outlawed liquor traffic was manifested and rapidly increased. The bootleggers became convinced that the drys would not fight for the enforcement of the law.

However, the Federal prohibition enforcement unit has been conducting a survey of enforcement by county officers and State courts. That survey shows that in one-third of the counties of the State, during the last 12 to 18 months, the county officers have brought to trial 1,595, and of them convicted 1,188 and had 318 acquittals, or less than 11 per cent. When it is remembered that a conviction in Texas always means at least one year and may mean five years in the State penitentiary, no fine or jail sentence being allowed, these convictions indicate a most healthy sentiment for the enforcement of our State law.

In the Federal courts convictions have been even more numerous, due to the fact that the Federal judge has been allowed to impose lower penalties. That very fact is used against the imposition of the heavy State penalties wherever a bootlegger is on trial in the State courts, the defense attorney playing up the so-called "unfairness" involved. The fact that under the Jones law the making of home brew for sale became a felony, decreased the demand for malt until one traveling salesman for a malt house, who reported selling 24 car loads of malt last year during the season, sold only two car loads in the same territory during the same season this year. He became disgusted and quit his job. This indicates that most of the malt was used for making home brew for commercial purposes and not for private use in the home. Your speaker made a survey of the icemen in the city of Dallas to determine what per cent of their patrons had home brew in their ice-boxes, as indicated by reports from their drivers. Ice companies dealing with the foreigners were not included. Of the American ice companies, none reported finding home brew or liquor of any sort in less than 10 per cent of the homes. Some insisted that they found less than 2 per cent of the homes had liquor.

Law Observance

The greatest factor in the good results of prohibition in Texas has been the hearty observance of the law on the part of the people. The propaganda of the wets encourages everybody to violate the law. Some of the newspapers have been little less than incendiary sheets to inflame their readers to rebellion against the law, but a close study of the conditions that prevail, checked from every angle possible, indicate that most of the drinking that is being done today is being done by the old bald-heads left over from saloon days, or by their children who are following in their tracks and who doubtless are taught by their parents to drink and to defy the law. These facts are brought out by a study of several communities, by those who had long time acquaintance with the personnel of each community and could trace the drinking habits through the years.

As an indication of the observance of the law on the part of the youth of our State, we point to a recent report from our State University. A survey of the vices engaged in by the students of this institution was made by committees appointed by the students, and that survey showed that as a vice common to the students, liquor drinking stood ninth in the list. Immorality, stealing, lying, cheating and other vices were far more prevalent. Five years ago a similar survey showed drinking stood fifth among the vices. Practically all the other colleges of the State report that they have little or no liquor problem whatever

in connection with their schools. The hip-pocket flask is in little demand in Texas.

The Anti-Saloon League has been the chief factor in maintaining sentiment for law observance and the enforcement of the law in Texas. Unlike some of the Eastern States, we have no other temperance organizations in Texas except the W. C. T. U. So the burden of the responsibility lies upon the League. The League has been aggressive and courageous.

Its work has been largely educational, usually maintaining from 5 to 7 men in the field and an office force of from 4 to 6. Its speakers are continually in the field, speaking on week-nights as well as on Sundays, and continually being invited into the public schools to discuss temperance and law observance with the pupils. It has utilized the moving picture to a large extent and has distributed abundant literature reaching as high as from 10 to 20 million book pages a year.

Prohibition Not An Experiment in Texas

The Texas people know prohibition first hand. They have tried it. The friends of the bootlegger denounce it. Some good citizens criticize the law for the same reason that the parrot talks—he has heard somebody else talk. But the thoughtful citizenry of Texas have weighed the question carefully and are thoroughly convinced of the value of prohibition.

The city of Dallas has the greatest State Fair on the American continent. Its annual attendance runs beyond a million. When saloons were in Dallas all trains leading out of the city during the fair season were loaded with drunks. Fighting, cursing, vomiting, and vile language filled the cars, and made it embarrassing for the decent citizen and the lady. These drunks were a nightmare to the trainmen and especially the conductor. Fights and killings were common. Since prohibition all this is changed and rarely do you see a drunk leaving Dallas during fair time and few are found in the city by the officers.

During the saloon days your speaker in the city of Fort Worth saw drunks —not by the dozen, or the score, or the hundred—but literally by the acre. Since the closing of the saloon he is frequently in Fort Worth and cannot recall having seen a solitary drunk. Going all over the State into hotels, where the drunks are supposed to congregate, he sees scarcely one drunk a year and this is the report that comes from the average man. The police do find drunks. Those drunks, however, are usually from the underworld and are usually repeaters. One underworld character can easily run up 25 to 50 drunks a year to appear in the police records. Before the coming of national prohibition so much of Texas was dry and her laws were so well enforced that there was territory in Texas out of which you could carve most of the New England States and throw in New York for good measure, in which territory a bootlegger could be found about as easily as a diamond mine. So well satisfied are the people of Texas with prohibition that if permitted to call an election we doubt if enough names could be secured to a petition to order such an election.

Prohibition in Texas is not an experiment. It is a fact. Our trouble is to arouse the people to make the necessary fight for the total extermination, root and branch, of the outlawed liquor traffic. But when a great danger threatens, our people respond, as when the attempt was made to put over on us the representative of the liquor traffic in New York as candidate for president. The rock-ribbed Democratic State of Texas gave 26,000 majority for the Republican nominee, President Hoover. If they make a similar attack in 1932, we will quadruple the majority.

VERMONT

By Albert E. Laing, *State Superintendent*

First: During the ten years of National Prohibition the Vermont Anti-Saloon League has kept very busy simply doing the things that needed to be done.

Second: The W. C. T. U. has been active in Vermont during these years and has done a good work.

Third: Sentiment does not change rapidly in New England but I believe it has been growing slowly but surely in favor of prohibition in Vermont.

Fourth: Both Federal and State Enforcemennt has slowly improved with the years. Several counties have done fine work with prohibition enforcement under our State code while others have been unfortunate, at times, in electing State's Attorneys and Sheriffs who were evidently not in sympathy with the law and thus have not proven very satisfactory on the job of enforcing prohibition. In these counties of course public sentiment is weak on the prohibition issue and it has been well nigh impossible to elect officials dry enough to enforce the dry laws.

Like other States on the border, we have had our quota of "Big Fellows" in the smuggling game and others called "Higher Ups" who have directed the flow of Canadian booze. Some of the "Big Fellows" have been caught, convicted, and sent down while others have been tried and not proven guilty; and still others have been arrested, prosecution started, "technicalities discovered," cases held up, bail fixed, and men at liberty with a question mark in the hazy distance as to their final conviction.

Taking all things into consideration, perhaps it is not strange that we find many good people in Vermont who feel that, at times, the wheels of justice seem to grind slowly, especially in connection with certain big liquor cases.

Notwithstanding these conditions, I still believe prohibition enforcement is improving. Give us ten years more with a thoroughly constructive educational program to mould sentiment for prohibition and I submit that both Observance and Enforcement of this law will be vastly improved. Finally, I believe the national prohibition policy will win and the law be satisfactorily observed and enforced. To this end let us all stand with President Hoover in his appeal for universal support of the Eighteenth Amendment.

Fifth: We are reaching the masses through an educational program as follows: We have covered the State with Dr. Shields' moving picture, "Lest We Forget," and are now using his second prohibition picture, "The Transgressor."

Our shelves carry about twenty different kinds of temperance and prohibition literature and a constant stream of leaflets is going out from our office to every county in the State. The "Vermont Issue" has had 10,000 circulation for several years, reaching about 40,000 readers monthly. Other activities are carried on as opportunity affords.

Sixth: Vermont has a "bone-dry" Governor and a dry Legislature. I feel sure our delegation in Washington is just as dry and, I believe, more so than it was ten years ago.

Seventh: Prohibition sentiment in the State is not as strong as it ought to be but if the dry constituency will stand by the President in his program for enforcement and observance of the law, things will surely improve.

The program of the League to reach the people and mould dry sentiment will be continued, if possible, in a more thorough and effective way than ever, in the years just ahead. The following report sent to our board of fifty trustees in October last, shows how the Vermont League carried on last summer:

"Your superintendent spoke every Sunday morning during June, July, August and September (18 Sundays) in Vermont churches, presenting the work of the Vermont Anti-Saloon League. We also had several Sunday afternoon appointments and, on ten Sunday nights, gave one of our moving pictures, mostly in back towns where we had crowded houses. We also showed the pictures twenty-one week nights, including a night at the Vermont Summer School of Religious Education in Montpelier, a night at Camp Abnaki, and a night at the National Guard Encampment at Fort Ethan Allen. Other speakers also presented our work on eleven different Sundays, in fifteen services, during this time.

During these four months, we drove 10,090 miles and covered every county in the State; visited 207 towns and conducted over 600 interviews. Practically all the above mileage can be credited to League business as we took no vacation this year.

Many a pastor and not a few laymen, in the remote sections, were delighted to have the superintendent call, sit down to visit and talk things over. We have concluded to do more of this in the future as we find it pays to call, shake hands, and get acquainted.

In addition to our church constituency, we called on customs men, Federal prohibition men, State's Attorneys, High Sheriffs, Deputy Sheriffs, Town Constables, etc. The hours were long and the work was hard but we had a good summer. We found the wets still aggressive and dry sentiment slipping in certain sections. The fight for prohibition and its enforcement must continue.

We plan to do even more than this next summer and also keep on as usual with a thoroughly constructive program for fall and winter, keeping it up from year to year as long as the wets challenge the policy of national prohibition.

PROHIBITION IN VIRGINIA

Rev. David Hepburn

Superintendent Anti-Saloon League of Virginia

For nearly three hundred years the Commonwealth of Virginia has experimented with Government Control of the liquor traffic. The first General Assembly to convene on American soil, which met in the choir loft in the church on Jamestown Island in 1619, passed laws to punish drunkenness and the sale of liquor to Indians. From that time until the present the General Assembly of Virginia has enacted various and sundry laws to control or suppress the evils growing out of the consumption of liquor for beverage purposes. Every method of regulation and control, including Government sale, was given a fair trial under favorable conditions, but failed in every instance to reduce either the consumption or the evils of the traffic.

It is needless to say that every method employed to control or regulate the business was bitterly opposed by its friends. The present opposition to prohibition is nothing new. The liquor forces have neither honor nor patriotism, nor any of those spiritual impulses that would tend to improve the moral and material welfare of the masses. Their religion is personal liberty, liberty to debase and demoralize their customers and their families for financial gain from the legal manufacture, sale and consumption of ardent spirits. The liquor forces are after the easy money that can be made in the liquor business with less labor, less capital and less intelligence than can be employed in any legitimate business.

Two hundred and ninety-five years of Government Control was surely sufficient time to demonstrate that no method ever devised by human intelligence could hope to regulate or control the beverage liquor traffic. All along the years

the liquor traffic has proven conclusively that it was the enemy of the home, the church and the State.

Under the leadership of the Anti-Saloon League and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Virginia placed the brand of the outlaw upon the business by a majority vote of 30,365 on September 22, 1914. In response to this expressed will of the people, the Legislature of 1916 enacted a Law Enforcement Code, prohibiting the manufacture and distribution of alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes. Each succeeding Legislature with few exceptions, has improved and strengthened the law wherein experience and practice proved it was weak. Today the Virginia Prohibition Law is equaled by few, if any, and surpassed by none in its effectiveness. The Federal Prohibition Administrator for Virginia, Captain Q. C. Merrick, in a letter to the Superintendent of the League, commending the League and the Attorney General's Department, says:

"I have been wanting to write you for sometime to thank you for the help you and your organization have given us from time to time in our efforts at enforcement of the National Prohibition Act, and I want you to know of the very close cooperation we have with the State Prohibition Department under Colonel Saunders.

"I believe the State of Virginia has the best State enforcement of any State in which I have worked.

"Our records will show that more than half of the cases made by our agents, in this State, are tried in the State courts."

The Federal Department, under the splendid administration of Captain Merrick, gets quicker and better results from the State law in the State courts than from the Volstead Act in the Federal courts. This also relieves the Federal courts in Virginia of any congestion, and incidentally the State gets the benefit of the fines and cash received from confiscated property.

There is a fine spirit of cooperation on the part of the Federal and State enforcement officials with the Anti-Saloon League, and this is true of a large number of local officials.

Anti-Saloon League Activities

The main business of the Anti-Saloon League is the destruction of the beverage liquor traffic. The method of securing this much desired end is through Education, Agitation and Legislation. In recent years the public press and public speakers have contended that the "dry" forces have given up their campaign of education, and have laid the emphasis too much on Law Enforcement. This has never been true of the Anti-Saloon League of Virginia. The League necessarily has given much time and thought to Law Enforcement, but the main emphasis has been laid upon education.

In the past ten years the League has raised and spent more than $350,000 in its State-wide Educational Campaign for Law Observance. This money was contributed by the churches, and was used for the educational work of the League. The political activities of the League have been financed by individuals outside of the churches through a political committee, whose activities were confined entirely to political work. None of the contributions of the churches were used for this purpose.

We have had speakers of national and international reputation who have addressed hundreds of thousands of our citizens, and tens of thousands of students in our high schools and colleges. We have prepared and distributed more than one and one-half million book pages of literature each year. We have printed thousands of scientific articles on the liquor question showing the effect of alcoholism upon the human system. We have furnished material for debates, sermons and reports for denominational gatherings. We have published

and distributed practically free over 1,200,000 copies of the "American Issue," Virginia edition. These have gone into the homes of our pastors, Sunday school superintendents and leading citizens. The League has been a clearing-house for up-to-date accurate information on the prohibition question.

The League has a mailing list of more than 100,000 prominent and influential citizens, and they are constantly receiving literature and letters containing valuable information on the prohibition question and the activities of the numerous "wet" organizations. We have four field secretaries who give all their time to the State-wide Educational Campaign. There are tens of thousands of new voters in Virginia who are unacquainted with the old saloon and its evil influence on the community, and the State-wide Educational Program of the League is absolutely essential to teach the new voters and the rising generation about the curse of strong drink, and to defeat as far as possible the "wet" propaganda appearing in the "wet" press daily.

Law Enforcement

The cost of law enforcement in the State for the last ten years amounted to $660,000. This appropriation is made to the Attorney General with the authority to employ agents and help for the enforcement of the prohibition law. The amount of fines imposed and cash received from confiscated property for the ten years amounted to $3,695,216.13. After the fees and rewards are paid to the commonwealth attorneys, sheriffs, deputies and special officers, the balance is turned into the State treasury for the benefit of the literary fund.

The Attorney General has done a splendid work with the limited amount of money at his disposal. While the Governor, and the General Assembly are lavish in the expenditure of the people's money, they have failed to appropriate an adequate sum for the enforcement of the prohibition law. The present Governor and Legislature should make an appropriation that would justify the Attorney General in paying his agents a reasonable salary, and employ sufficient good men to suppress the lawless element.

The Federal Enforcement Department has been unable to function as it should in the past. There have been too many re-organizations and political interferences with appointments. The present organization under the civil service regulations in charge of Captain Q. C. Merrick, has been giving a good account of itself, and if left alone in the future will produce satisfactory and permanent results.

The secret service men in time will apprehend and bring to justice the men who are furnishing the brains and means for carrying on their nefarious business. The conviction of two or three of them in each community would paralyze the illegal traffic. But these big men cannot be apprehended except through the secret service department.

State Officials

On November 5, 1929, Virginia elected a Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Attorney General and 104 members of the Legislature. The new Governor, inaugurated on yesterday, Hon. John Garland Pollard, in his reply to the League's questionnaire answered as follows:

"If elected Governor of Virginia, I shall oppose any measure looking to the repeal, or any measure which would tend to weaken our State prohibition laws, and if such a measure is passed by the General Assembly, I shall veto the same."

The replies of the Lieutenant-Governor, Hon. James H. Price, and the Attorney General, Hon. John R. Saunders, were also satisfactory. Seventy-five per cent of the candidates for the Legislature also replied satisfactorily to the League's questionnaire. Thirty candidates had no opposition and did not think it necessary to reply. More than ninety per cent of the present members of the

Senate and House are favorable to our prohibition law, and will oppose any measure to weaken or repeal the same.

The fact that most, if not all of the candidates for office, knew the State League's consistent non-partisan policy in the past and in the gubernatorial campaign made it possible for them to reply to the League's questionnaire. Had the State League aligned itself with either party or faction, it would have been impossible to have received these (the largest number of favorable replies in the League's history) replies from successful candidates. Only four whose replies were unsatisfactory were elected to the General Assembly.

Our two Senators and eight of the ten members of Congress from Virginia can be depended upon to support prohibition as a governmental policy.

Virginia's majority of nearly 25,000 for Herbert Hoover in 1928 was purely a protest against the "wet" record and program of the Democratic nominee. The citizenship of the commonwealth are intelligent and patriotic. They are neither controlled by party nor religious prejudice. They are independent and prize more highly a moral principle than their party's temporary success. The failure of the Coalition candidates in the gubernatorial election last year was no indication that Virginia had changed her position on the prohibition question. The replies to the League's questionnaire prove this fact. If the party leaders in the State and Nation believe that she has, and are foolish enough to nominate a "wet" candidate in 1932 for President, Virginia will repudiate him and vote for the "dry" candidate, regardless of his party affiliation.

Pastors

The pastors of Virginia are almost unanimous in their approval of prohibition and in their cooperation with the Anti-Saloon League. There are few Evangelical churches in the State where the League's representatives are not welcome to present the cause of temperance and prohibition.

Churches

The Methodist and Baptist denominations and the Christian church in their recent annual State conventions passed resolutions commending the Anti-Saloon League as a non-partisan interdenominational organization through which the membership of the Evangelical churches and those of no denominational affiliation have worked in the past for the destruction of the beverage liquor traffic, and pledging their moral and financial support to the State and National Anti-Saloon League for the creation and maintenance of a proper sentiment for law enforcement and for the education of the masses of the people concerning the evils and destructiveness of strong drink.

Health

The population of Virginia has increased from 2,150,000 in 1918 to 2,470,000 in 1928. The death rate for this period has decreased from 14 per cent to 11.7 per cent. The death rate of children under two years of age has decreased from 8,009 in 1918 to 5.053 in 1928.

The Dependent Class

The dependent class cared for in county, city and district homes has decreased from 4,893 in 1916 to 3,078 in 1929. The number of those helped by organized charities has decreased from 20,883 in 1916 to 14,205 in 1929, a total decrease of dependents of 7,508. There are fewer dependents in Virginia today in proportion to the population than ever in her history.

Colleges and Prohibition

For a number of years there have been widespread rumors of increased drinking at some of our educational institutions. The officials of many of these

have publicly declared that there has been a decrease in the amount of liquor consumed and of drunkenness among the students.

In 1928, however, there were serious charges made in the public press by responsible parties that there was an excessive amount of drinking at the Thanksgiving football game at our great State University. Subsequently, there were charges made by the field secretary of one of the fraternal organizations that liquor was manufactured and openly drank in at least one of the fraternity houses. These rumors and charges were denied, and the State superintendent was vigorously denounced by alumni associations, officials of the university and the public press.

As a partial result of this agitation and publicity during the subsequent months, the following official action with reference to the possession and use of ardent spirits at the university proves that conditions were not as satisfactory as they should have been. In response to the demand of Dr. Alderman, President of the University of Virginia, the administrative council, according to the "Daily Progress" of Charlottesville, Virginia, of January 22, 1929, passed the following official statement:

"The use or possession of intoxicating liquor by students in any of the dormitories or other university buildings, or otherwise within the precincts of the university, or the permitting by occupants of the dormitories of such use or possession within their dormitories, is forbidden."

By May, 1929, 32 fraternities of the University of Virginia had unanimously passed resolutions expressing their willingness and intent to cooperate with the administrative council in their efforts to prevent the drinking of alcoholic liquors in the chapter houses and on the grounds of the university. From "College Topics," a student paper, we find that all students renting rooms in dormitories were required to sign a lease containing a clause prohibiting the possession or use of intoxicating liquors by students.

Washington and Lee University required all prospective students in 1929 to sign a pledge not to take a drink while a student at Lexington. A circular letter was sent to the parents of such students by President Henry Louis Smith, suggesting to the parents not to send to Washington and Lee University any student who declined to sign the pledge.

One other educational institution the past year made a public announcement that the possession or use of liquor will not be tolerated, and the professors were requested to announce to their classes that before any student should take a drink of liquor in the future, he had better purchase his ticket back home.

Whatever may have been the attitude of the officials, or to what extent the use of alcoholic liquor may have been indulged in at our great institutions in the past, the above official actions place the colleges, officials and students definitely on the side of law observance.

Prohibition and the Press

The Virginia press is published and controlled by a very fine class of Virginia gentlemen, men of character and standing in their communities. They are as a rule deeply interested in the moral and material progress of their communities. When you consider, therefore, the marvelous moral and material benefits of prohibition and the improved conditions of the working class in general since the adoption of State-wide prohibition, it seems strange that any of our great dailies in Virginia should continue to give aid and comfort to the lawless class. Yet almost daily you will find some of these papers ridiculing and making light of prohibition and prohibition officials. They seem to be unconscious of the fact that their attitude aligns them with the lawless and most disreputable element of the State, and thus creates disrespect for the law and increases crime.

The following conservative statement of President Herbert Hoover to the New York Press Association on April 22, 1929, applies to too many of our State papers:

"I wonder sometimes, however, if perhaps a little more support of our laws could not be given in one direction. If instead of the glamour of romance and heroism our American imaginative minds too frequently throw around those who break the law we would invest with a little romance and heroism those thousands of our officers who are endeavoring to enforce the law 'it would itself decrease crime.' Perhaps a little better proportioned balance of news concerning those criminals who are convicted and punished would serve to instill the fear of the law."

Economics

The liquor forces and their friends during the strenuous days for the Enabling Act and State-wide prohibition prophesied dire results would follow the adoption of the prohibition law, that the loss of revenue from the breweries, distilleries and saloons would cause the State to go bankrupt, that it would be impossible to build roads, to build schools, to educate our children, to pay the interest on the bonded indebtedness, or to pension the old soldiers. Had their prophesy come true, and had there been a reduction in revenue, or in the industrial output and in the capital invested, they would have charged this to prohibition. But there were false prophets in those days.

The fact that State officials and public speakers refer to the phenomenal prosperity of Virginia to boost the party in power, or the administration, invariably use the statistics from 1916 up to the present time, proves clearly, what they are unwilling to admit, that prohibition is the largest contributing factor for the present industrial prosperity of the commonwealth. In fact, the official records will demonstrate this to be true.

In 1916, the last "wet" year, the total income from all sources for the upkeep of the government was $7,945,202.00. In 1929 it was $45,501,755.51, an increase of $37,556,533.51 for the prohibition years, or an increase of $2,888,-965.65 per year, against $323,332.00 per year for the last eight "wet" years, or $538.51 per year from the time the old Constitution was adopted in 1776 until the time the State adopted prohibition.

From 1916 to 1929 the expenditures for the building and upkeep of good roads increased from $657,000 to $12,500,000.

The value of school property increased from $16,204,000 to more than $61,-000,000.

The industrial output of the State increased from $367,000,000 to $782,-425,000.

The amount of capital invested increased from $183,000,000 to $733,428,000.

The total resources of the banks increased from $334,375,000 to $674,103,000, an increase of $339,728,000, or more than 100 per cent.

The bank deposits increased from $247,944,000 to $485,153,000, a total gain of $237,209,000, or nearly 100 per cent for the prohibition years.

If Virginia maintains her prohibition law and the present progress of prosperity, she will be among the leading industrial States of the Nation within the next few years.

WISCONSIN

By Warren G. Jones, *State Superintendent.*

First. Activities of the State League during the last ten years.

In 1920 we elected a dry majority in both houses of the Legislature. A dry act, the Severson Law, was passed by the Legislature in 1921. Since 1921 we

have been able to hold at least one house dry until the last Legislature in 1929 in which our forces were so depleted that the wets got control of both houses and repealed our State dry law in June, 1929.

Second. The W. C. T. U. has co-operated faithfully and well with the Wisconsin Anti-Saloon League during the decade. There is a prohibition party organization in this State which is very weak and in close contests in the elections does more damage than good. The National Prohibition party paper called "Political Action" is printed at Madison, Wisconsin.

Third. We believe there has been a slowly rising tide in sentiment favorable to prohibition during the decade which was climaxed by Hoover carrying Wisconsin by about 100,000 majority in the fall of 1928.

Fourth. Our State dry law was of material assistance in the enforcement of prohibition especially where the State officers co-operated with the Federal prohibition officers. The State prohibition force was of the most value financially as they brought into the State treasury around half a million dollars each year which also measures their activities. The Federal prohibition forces have been steadily increased during the decade and their activity has increased proportionately and effectively. This year the Federal officers have been doubled since the repeal of our State dry law and they have more than doubled the results in padlocks, capturing of stills, wildcat breweries, etc.

Fifth. The Wisconsin Anti-Saloon League has always had educational features in its program. During the present year our educational program has included moving pictures, dramatic debates, seeing that the law for the teaching of the effects of alcohol on the human system in the public school has been complied with, and the holding of county and local dry institutes, etc.

Sixth. The present political situation is as follows: We must gain at least three or four dry State senators and fifteen dry assemblymen in order to get control of the next legislature. We will probably have to make a fight for a dry governor. We now have five dry congressmen out of the eleven and are expecting to elect another dry congressman in 1930. Both of our United States Senators range with the wettest in the United States. Until four years ago we had Senator Lenroot who was always one of the best dry senators in the United States Senate.

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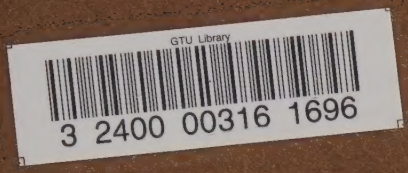

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